



**ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA**

# **EPIGRAPHIA INDICA**

**ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT**

**(In continuation of the Series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)**

**1969**

**EDITED BY**

**DR Z. A. DESAI**

**Superintending Epigraphist  
Arabic and Persian Inscriptions  
Nagpur**



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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

## ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

### 1969

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#### SOME INSCRIPTIONS OF JAHANGIR IN BIHAR

BY DR QEYAMUD-DIN AHMED, M A , Ph D

*Department of History, Patna University*

In an earlier issue of this journal,<sup>1</sup> I have studied a few inscriptions of Jahāngir from the Patnā district of Bihār. The present article contains a study of eight more inscriptions of that emperor found in different parts of Bihār.<sup>2</sup> The historical value of the inscriptions, of the Mughal period, for the reconstruction of the provincial history of the area to which they belong, has already been discussed in my previous article.

The eight inscriptions studied here range in their dates from 1608 to 1626. Five of these epigraphs are listed in the epigraphical reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, while the remaining three (Nos IV, V and VI) were found and copied by me.<sup>3</sup> None of the inscriptions has been published with facsimiles or historical notes.

#### I INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1015 (?), FROM BIHĀRSHARIF

The tablet bearing this inscription measuring 110 by 15 cms is fixed in the west wall of the small open mosque attached to the Mausoleum of Sayyid Muhammad Sistānī situated in the Kāghdhī-Mahalla in Bihārsharif.<sup>4</sup> Alongside on the same wall is an inscription of Ibrāhīm Sharqī.<sup>5</sup> The present inscription does not appear to be *in situ*, very probably it belonged to the nearby Bukhārī mosque which contains two other inscriptions, also mentioning Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī (Nos II and III, *infra*). The writing comprises a single line text containing a crudely composed and also not elegantly designed Persian verse enumerating the names of the first four Caliphs and the four great Imāms—the founders of the four major schools of Islamic jurisprudence. In the centre, between two hemistiches is inscribed, within an arch-like border, the

---

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1966, pp 35-42.

<sup>2</sup> These include four (Nos I, III and VIII) from Patnā district also, which could not find place in my earlier article due to the delay in obtaining their rubbings and getting some old records.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1955-56, Nos D, 60, 71, 81, 83, *ibid*, 1960-61, No D, 7 (One more epigraph of the group, to wit, No V of the study, stated to have been copied by the author of this article in 1959, was received by us in January 1963, from Shri P. C. Singh, Senior Deputy Collector, Bhagalpur and listed in *ibid*, 1962-63, No D 23. The reproduction of these epigraphs except otherwise stated, are made from the rubbings preserved in or taken by the office of the Superintending Epigraphist, Nagpur, during 1955-1963.—Ed.)

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1955-56, No D, 83.

<sup>5</sup> It has been published in *EIAPS*, 1962, p 42.

*Amra*, and above it, an invocation to Allāh by one of His attributes,<sup>1</sup> while at each of the two ends within a lined frame, is inscribed the historical portion of the text. That at the right refers to the reign of Nūru'd Dīn Muhammad, i.e. emperor Jahāngīr, while the one at the left end contains the phrase 'the Sāhibā (consort?) of Shāikh Farīd Bukhārī', and the date 1015(?) (1606-07).

The style of writing is ordinary *Naskh*. The text<sup>2</sup> has been deciphered as follows —

## TEXT

## Plate I (b)

## (a) In the Centre

یا حافظ

انا نکر عمر عثمان علی حان [recte حوان] لا اله الا [الله محمد رسول الله امام معصم]  
محمد [احمد recte] مالکک سابع ددان

## (b) Right side

در عهد نور الدین محمد

## (c) Left side

صاحبه (؟) سیح ورید بحارے سنہ ۱۰۱۵

## TRANSLATION

## (a) O Protector !

There is no god but Allāh, Muhammad is the Prophet of Allāh

Recite (the names of) Abā Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī know (the names of) Imām Muzazzam (i.e. Imām Abū Hanīfa), Muhammad (Ahmad Hanbal), Mālīk and Shāfi' [i]

(b) In the reign of Nūru'd-Dīn Muhammad (Jahāngīr)

(c) Sāhibā(?) (consort) of Shāikh Farīd Bukhārī Year (A H ) 1015 (?) (1606-07 A D )

This epigraph seems to be connected with the next two, which may also be described before taking up the question of the identity of Shāikh Farīd Bukhārī

## II INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1017, FROM THE SAME PLACE

This inscription is engraved on a slab measuring 41 by 45 cms which is built up into the outer side of the back wall of the Bukhārī-Masjid referred to above.<sup>3</sup> The mosque is a massive three-domed structure very similar in design to the Habīb Khān's mosque, of Shāh Jahān's reign, also at Bihārsharif. The inscription seems to be unconnected with the mosque, it is, probably, an epitaph, and the grave to which it belonged was perhaps situated somewhere nearby. The

<sup>1</sup> This is *Ya Hāfiẓ* which has not come out in the estampage

<sup>2</sup> I am obliged to prof A. A. Kāzīmī Head of the Arabic Department Patnā College, Patnā for his help in the decipherment of this as well as the texts of the next two inscriptions

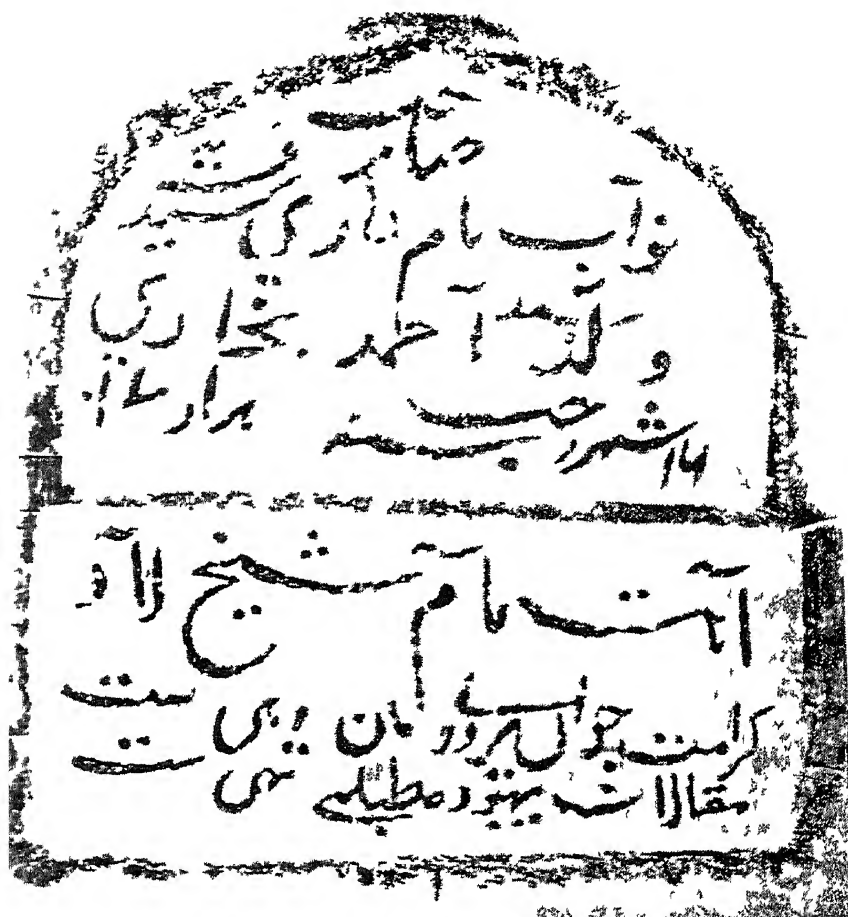
<sup>3</sup> *JRI*, 1955-56 No. D, 81, where it is stated to be on the façade



JAHĀNGĪR'S RECORDS FROM BIHĀR

( PLATES I—III )

(a) Inscription, dated A H 1017, from Bihārsharif (p 3)



SCALE 24

(b) Record, dated A H 1015 (?), same place (p 2)



# THE CHANDERI INSCRIPTION OF 'ALĀU'D-DĪN KHALJĪ

By DR Z A DESAI

The inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī, which I have selected for comments in this article, came to light more than four decades ago, and was, as a matter of fact, even published with historical notes and an illustration. It was first listed in one of the reports of the Archaeological Department of the erstwhile Gwalior State,<sup>1</sup> and its photographic reproduction was entrusted by the Director of the said Department to Mr Ram Singh Saksena, who published it with a detailed note as early as in 1925.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, Mr Saksena's study not only lacks scientific treatment, but also suffers from certain inaccuracies and consequent mis-statements, which may be termed as quite serious, and it is rather surprising that these should have remained uncorrected so far. Having had occasion to make a brief reference to these lapses while listing this epigraph in our Annual Report, I now take this opportunity to make its correct purport available to scholars by re-editing it here.

The epigraphical tablet which is of soft white sandstone, measures 127 by 45 cm and was originally found, and it still is, in the house of one Parbho Dayāl, a Brahmin resident of the town of Chanderi,<sup>3</sup> which was once the provincial capital under the Sultāns of Malwa. Now considerably reduced in importance, except for its cotton *sūris*, it is denied even the status of a *tahsil* head quarters. The slab is built into one of the walls of the said house, but it is neither known, nor has it been possible to ascertain, how or when it came to be fixed into its present place. That it originally belonged to a place of worship, is quite clear from the text and needs no further confirmation. On the other hand, I am informed by my colleague Shri S. A. Rahim, who got its rubbings prepared, that the building in which the tablet occurs, is just an ordinary residential unit, without the slightest pretension to antiquity or architectural merit, and therefore, there seems to be little doubt that the slab was brought from elsewhere, or that the original mosque on which it was fixed, must have existed in its vicinity.

The four-line text of the epigraph is cut in relief in *Nashk* style. While its calligraphy cannot be said to be of the finest order, it is nevertheless quite pleasing to the eye, mainly on account of its neat execution, which easily makes it one of the best executed records of the Khaljī monarch.

The text purports that a mosque was built in 1312, during the reign of the great king, the Alexander of the age, 'Alāu'd-Dīn Muhammad Shāh and during the time of the governorship of Amīr-ul-Umarā Ikhṭiyāru'd Daulat wa'd-Dīn Tamur Sultān, the champion (*pahlūān*) of Irān, by Ismā'il, son of Abdu's-Salām, called Wajih-i Najib. The builder is designated in the text as the *muḥarrir* (accountant),<sup>4</sup> attached to the district (*khṭta*)<sup>5</sup> of Kol (i.e. modern Aligarh in Uttar Pradesh).

The major inaccuracies in Mr Saksena's study were that firstly, he could not determine the name of the governor, having taken the word 'Tamur' to indicate its literary meaning of a sword,

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State*, 1924-25, No. 10 of Appendix E.

<sup>2</sup> R. S. Saksena, 'Persian Inscriptions in the Gwalior State', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. I (1925), pp. 655-56.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1962-63, No. D, 59 and p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> For a brief note on the exact connotation of this term, see *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1967, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> For a note on the meaning of the term *khṭta*, please see p. 10 *infra*.

supervision of Shaiḵh Lād'. A few numerals (e g 1000, 10, 2080, 410) are also inscribed above, and to the right of, the monogram, but their significance is not quite clear <sup>1</sup>

The style of writing is Naskh, part of which is in Tughā. The text has been deciphered as follows —

## TEXT

a) In the corners

دا حافظ

(b) In the centre

۱ — ۱۰

سبح فرد نجاری

۲۰۸۰ بن احمد

(c) Below (b), at right

صناعده سبح فرد نجاری

نواب مرصی حان

(d) Below (b), at left

ناهتمام

شیخ (?) لاد

## TRANSLATION

(a) O Protector !

(b) 1000 10 Shaiḵh Farīd Bukhārī, son of Ahmad 2080

(c) 410 Designed by (?)<sup>2</sup> Shaiḵh Farīd Bukhārī (entitled) Nawwāb Murtadā Khān

(d) Supervised by Shaiḵh (?) Lād

Of the three persons mentioned in this as well as in the previous two epigraphs, Shaiḵh Farīd Bukhārī is a well-known nobleman of Akbar and Jahāngīr. He was assigned to the eastern provinces, in 1583, as a deputy of Wazīr Khān. While on a mission, as an emissary, to the famous Afghān chieftain of Orissā, Qutlū Nūhānī, he nearly lost his life due to the treachery of the latter. Subsequently, he was Bakhshī and Dīwan-i-Tan for sometime. It was under Jahāngīr from whom he received the title of Murtadā Khān in recognition of his varied meritorious services, that he

<sup>1</sup> The numerical value of Shaiḵh Farīd Bukhārī, according to the *Abjad* system of reckoning, yields 2017, which does not correspond with any of the figures inscribed on the stone.

<sup>2</sup> This word is very probably intended to be صاحبه as in the other allied records —Ed



reached the pinnacle of his career. After serving as the viceroy of Gujarat<sup>1</sup> and Punjab, he died in A H 1025 (1616 A D ), and was buried in the family graveyard in Delhi.<sup>2</sup>

Shaiḵh Farīd seems to have had a passion for the construction of works of public utility. He is credited with a number of edifices built at Ahmadābād, Delhi and Lāhore. He also founded the township of Farīdābād near Delhi.

It is to be noted that Shaiḵh Farīd was not personally present in Bihār during the period when these three inscriptions mentioning him were set up. The beginning of his connection with Bihār might have occurred when, as stated above, he was deputed in the region during Akbar's reign, and he might have received a *jāgīr* there. Some of the members of his family might also have continued to live there, as is evidenced by these epigraphs mentioning his consort. Incidentally, there is one more epitaph, dated A H 991 (1583 A D ), in the village Mehdāwān also in Patnā district, in which the deceased Shaiḵh Abdu r Raḥmān commonly known as Mīr Wā'iz is referred to as a son of Sayyid Ahmad Bukhārī,<sup>3</sup> although it cannot be definitely said that the latter is identical with Shaiḵh Farīd's father, the nearness of time and the use of the appellation Shaiḵh with the son's name make it quite likely.

These epigraphs are thus quite important in that they furnish new information about Shaiḵh Farīd.

#### IV INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1022, FROM SASĀRĀM

This inscription was first reported by General A. Cunningham. He had found the detached slab on which it is inscribed at the foot of the Chandan Pīr's shrine in Sasārām, District Shāhābād. It was evidently on the basis of a rubbing supplied by him that a bare text and English translation thereof were published by Mr. H. Blochmann without any comment.<sup>4</sup> The tablet has now weathered and some of the words have become indistinct. In particular, the figures indicating the date, quoted by Blochmann at the foot of the text, are too indistinct to admit of clear decipherment.

The text comprises three Persian verses and records the construction of a mosque and a well by 'Alī Akbar in the reign of Jahāngīr in 1613-14, during the governorship of Safdar Khān. It is now difficult to locate the mosque and the well.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For his career in Gujarat (1606-09) and the buildings constructed by him in that province, see Professor M. S. Commissariat *History of Gujarat*, vol. II (Bombay 1957), pp. 46-47. For details of his full career see *ibid.*, Shāh Nawāz Khān *Mu'atḥirul Umara*, vol. II (Calcutta 1890), pp. 633-41, H. Blochmann *Eng. tr. in Akbari* (Calcutta, 1927) pp. 454-58. *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments (LMH)* vol. II (Calcutta, 1919) p. 60, etc.

<sup>2</sup> For his epitaph, see *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (PASB)*, 1873 p. 197. *LMH* vol. III (Calcutta, 1922), p. 103. Bashīr u d-Dīn Ahmad *Waqi'at-i Daulat-i Hukumat-i Delhi* vol. III (Agra 1919), pp. 151-52, H. E. Ali Asghar Hikmat, *Naqsh-i Parsi bar ahjār-i Hind* (Tehran A. H. 1337 shamsi) p. 113. The text quoted in Sayyid Ahmad Khān *Āthar u Sanādīd* (Delhi, 1965), p. 265, has A. H. 1023 for the year of death, which is a mistake. That he expired in A. H. 1025 is also stated by Jahāngīr *Tūruk-i Jahāngīrī* (Aligarh, 1864), p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> Published along with the other inscriptions of Akbar in Bihār in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Special Issue, 1968. Professor S. H. Askari Felicitation Volume, pp. 119-23. (This has been listed in *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 24—Fd.)

<sup>4</sup> *PASB* 1876 pp. 10-11. It is being edited here from an old rubbing preserved in the office of the Superintending Epigraphist Nagpur.

<sup>5</sup> In Dr. D. R. Patil *The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar* (Patna 1963) p. 517 the inscription is stated to have belonged to a small ruined mosque situated at the foot of the Chandan Shahid Hill.

The style of writing is *Nasta'liq* of a fairly good type The text has been read as under —

## TEXT

## Plate II (c)

(۱) بدور ساه نور الدین حمہانگیر  
 رہاں حان سرور صفدر العتب  
 (۲) علی اکبر حہ و مسجد بنا کرد  
 کہ نالہ سنگاں گردید سیراب  
 (۳) جو نارنجس طلب کردم حرد گف  
 ر نہر طاعت دراو و وہاب  
 سنہ ۲۲ ۱

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the king Nūru'd-Dīn Jahāngīr, during the time of the victorious Khān,<sup>1</sup> entitled Safdar,

(2) 'Alī Akbar constructed a well and a mosque, so that the thirsty (both literally and figuratively) may quench their thirst

(3) As I sought its date (i.e. of construction), Wisdom said, "(It is meant) for the devotion of the Nourisher and the Giver" Year (A H ) 1022 (1613-14 A D )

The epigraph is historically important in that it forms the memento of one of the high Mughal officials of Bihār According to the *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, Safdar Khān was the title conferred along with the *tuyūl* in Bihār upon Mīrzā Lashkarī, son of Sayyid Yūsuf Khān Rīdawī, by Jahāngīr in the early part of his reign.<sup>2</sup> He is stated to have received an increase in *mansab* in the 5th regnal year,<sup>3</sup> and was transferred to Kashmir in the 8th regnal year to replace its viceroy Hāshim Khān.<sup>4</sup>

The precise official post of Safdar Khān in Bihār is not mentioned anywhere, but his high *mansab* and the way in which at least thrice he presented himself before Jahāngīr having come from Bihār, with costly presents, between February 1610 and June 1613,<sup>5</sup> proclaim him to be a high imperial officer in the province But he does not appear to have governed Bihār, as from Jahāngīr's own account, the governorship of that province was transferred from Islām Khān to Afdal Khān (son of Abu'l-Fadl) in the 3rd regnal year and the latter held the said, charge upto the two-thirds of the 7th regnal year (about the 1st December 1612), when he was succeeded by Zafar Khān.<sup>6</sup> The latter governed Bihār until the beginning of the 8th regnal year or to be exact, until about the 15th April 1615 when he was replaced by Ibrāhīm Khān.<sup>7</sup>

Now since according to Jahāngīr himself, Safdar Khān was transferred as (or rather promoted to be) the governor of Kashmir towards the close of the 8th regnal year,<sup>8</sup> when Ibrāhīm Khān was

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann, in *PASB* 1876 p 11, takes 'Khān i Sarwar' as the name proper of Safdar Khān, which is incorrect

<sup>2</sup> In the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he received the title of Saf shikan Khān For this and his subsequent career under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, see Shah Nawāz Khān, *op cit*, vol II pp 736 38 Blochmann, *op cit*, pp 371 72 etc

<sup>3</sup> The exact date of this was 7th Muḥarram 1019 or 22nd March 1610 See Jahāngīr, *op cit*, pp 80 81

<sup>4</sup> Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op cit*, vol II, p 736, puts this in the 6th regnal year, but according to Jahāngīr himself (*op cit* p 120) this was on the 6th Day of the 8th regnal year or 14th Dhu'l Qa da 1022 (16th December 1613)

<sup>5</sup> Jahāngīr *op cit* pp 79, 80 81, 97, 98, 118

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p 113

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p 139

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, p 125

(c) Inscription dated A H 1022 (?), from Kāshān (p. 7)

الحمد لله الذي  
 افاض علينا من نعمه  
 ما لا يحصى ولا يعد  
 ولا ينقطع ولا ينفد  
 ولا يمتد ولا يقطع  
 ولا يمتد ولا يقطع  
 ولا يمتد ولا يقطع

SCALE 3

(b) Epigraph dated A H 1035 from Bārāh (p. 13)

الحمد لله الذي  
 افاض علينا من نعمه  
 ما لا يحصى ولا يعد  
 ولا ينقطع ولا ينفد  
 ولا يمتد ولا يقطع  
 ولا يمتد ولا يقطع  
 ولا يمتد ولا يقطع

SCALE 3

(c) Inscription dated A H 1022 from Sāsāram (p. 6)

الحمد لله الذي  
 افاض علينا من نعمه  
 ما لا يحصى ولا يعد  
 ولا ينقطع ولا ينفد  
 ولا يمتد ولا يقطع  
 ولا يمتد ولا يقطع  
 ولا يمتد ولا يقطع



still the governor,<sup>1</sup> there should be no doubt that he never governed Bihar in a substantive capacity. It thus follows that Saïd ur Khān must have been one of the principal Jāgirdārs in the province.

As regards 'Alī Akbar, we have no precise information. He may have been, if not a brother of Saïdar Khān, at least his trusted officer. According to a new contemporary inscription which I have discovered recently at Khurramābād near Sasārām—it was too late to include it in this article—one Sayyid 'Alī Akbar constructed a mosque, palace, caravansara and a bridge during A H 1021-23. In all probability, he and 'Alī Akbar of the epigraph under study are one and the same person. The inscription under reference, found not far from Sasārām, the findspot of the inscription under study, would also suggest that 'Alī Akbar was posted in some official capacity or held a *qāgi* in the neighbourhood.<sup>2</sup>

#### V INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1022(?), FROM KAHALGĀON

This epigraph was discovered by me in 1959 during an exploration tour of Bhagalpur district.<sup>3</sup> It is inscribed on a detached tablet of black basalt stone measuring 50 by 22 cms, which is now kept in the mosque of Mahalla Paithanpura in Kahalgāon. The slab being of irregular shape and uneven surface, the text is written on a portion flattened out, but not quite smoothened, and hence the letters are not as neatly carved as generally they are. It is moreover carelessly engraved, the style of writing being somewhat cursive *Nasta'liq*. Originally, the slab seems to have been a part of some ornamented pillar or door frame, as carvings in some flowered and geometrical designs may still be seen on its reverse.

The text runs into four lines of Persian and records the construction of a fort built in the name of prophet Muhammad during the governorship of Nawwāb Zafar Khān and under the supervision of Nūr Muhammad Gilānī in 1613. It has been read as follows —

#### TEXT

#### Plate II (a)

(۱) الله اكبر

(۲) ابن فلح ناسم حضرت محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم

(۳) در عمل نواب طغر خان باهتمام بنده نور محمد گیلانی بنیاد شد

(۴) تحریر فی التاریخ شهر صفر ۲۲ ۱

<sup>1</sup> He was transferred from Bihār in about April 1617 (*ibid.*, p. 185).

<sup>2</sup> Jahāngir mentions an official 'Mir 'Alī Akbar twice in his account of his 4th and 5th regnal years—one 'Alī Akbar (*ibid.*, pp. 78-88) and one 'Alī Akbar a surgeon attending upon him in the 13th regnal year (*ibid.* p. 264). The terms Mir and Sayyid as is well known, being usually synonymous it may not be unlikely that Mir 'Alī Akbar is identical with the person mentioned in the Khurramabad, if not also the Sasārām inscription. Again the surgeon's name is mentioned exactly in the same way as in the Sasārām inscription and may be identical with him. Unfortunately, Jahāngir does not give any details and therefore, it is difficult to make any positive identification.—Ed

<sup>3</sup> This inscription was listed in *ARIE* 1962-63, No. D, 23 from a rubbing received from Shri P. C. Singh, Senior Deputy Collector, Bhagalpur District on 10 January 1963. Its date was doubtfully read and communicated to Shri Singh, as A H 1199, Šafar 4 though in a subsequent communication sent to him in March 1963 he was informed that Zafar Khān of the inscription could be identical with Zafar Khān governor of Bihar under Jahāngir between A H 1021 and 1024, but the correct reading of the year (read doubtfully in the report as A H 1012) be ascertained either by examining the tablet or getting a clear rubbing. Unfortunately the rubbing sent by Dr. Ahmad is also not very distinct.—Ed

## TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Great

(2) This fort, in the name of<sup>1</sup> Muhammad the revered Messenger of Allāh, may Allāh's peace and salutations be on him,

(3) was constructed during the governorship of Nawwāb Zafar Khān (and) under the superintendence of the humble creature, Nūr Muhammad Gīlānī

(4) Written on the date, month of Safar 1022 (March-April 1613)

Zafar Khān, the governor, during whose tenure the inscription was set up, is a renowned Mughal official his father Zayn Khān Koka was a foster brother of Akbar. He was appointed as the viceroy of Bihār in the 7th year of Jahāngīr's reign, or to be exact on or about the 17th Shawwāl 1021 (1st December 1612). In this first appointment of his as a viceroy, Zafar Khān came upto Jahāngīr's expectations which the latter had given expression to while making the appointment in response to the former's wishes.<sup>2</sup> He showed great initiative and ability, for he was the first Mughal viceroy of Bihār—leaving aside the brief military campaign of Shāhbāz Khān—to invest Kokrādes̄h (the present Chotā Nāgpur area) which was yet unreduced. Ibrāhīm Khān (later on Fath Jang), the succeeding Mughal governor, had only completed what had been begun by Zafar Khān.

The account of Zafar Khān's expedition against Kokrādes̄h, which is an important event in the provincial history of Bihār under Jahāngīr, is not mentioned by contemporary or later Mughal historians, some of whom like the authors of the *Pādshāh Nāma* and the *Ālamgīr Nāma* give a full account of the subsequent expeditions, in the region, of Ibrāhīm Khān, Shā'ista Khān and Dī'ūd Khān.<sup>3</sup> But Mirzā Nathan, in his valuable memoir, viz the *Bahārīstān i-~~G~~harbī*, gives an interesting account of the event. The fort was constructed by Zafar Khān, most probably, as part of the preparation for the conquest of Kokrādes̄h. It seems that in attacking Kokrādes̄h, the Khān also made use of the less frequented and difficult route through the Kharagpur hills.

The *Bahārīstān*, in describing Zafar Khān's rather hasty attempt to get the viceroyalty of Bengāl, also provides a piece of information of some administrative significance, about the order of precedence in matters of superior appointments in Bengāl and Bihār. As such, and being the only source of information on this phase of Zafar Khān's career, some extracts from it will not be out of place here. "It was laid down in the imperial regulations that when the Subahdār of Bengal died, the highest imperial officer who stayed at Mungr was to take charge of that office, if there be no man of this position at Mungr, then the Subahdār of Bihar should go to Bengal."<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, in 1613, on the death of Islām Khān, the famous governor of Bengāl and the founder of the capital at Dacca (Jahāngīrnagar), Zafar Khān who was then engaged in the expedition against Kokrādes̄h, hastened to Jahāngīrnagar and reported the matter to the emperor. But the emperor who had, in the meantime, received reports from the Dīwān,

<sup>1</sup> The dedication of a fort to the Prophet, though not quite unknown is rather uncommon.

<sup>2</sup> Jahāngīr *op cit* p 113

<sup>3</sup> Jahāngīr while referring to the conquest of the region—'Kokhra'—by Zafar Khān's successor Ibrāhīm Khān does refer to the expeditions of the earlier governors. He says 'this province and river were in possession of Durjan Sīl and although the governors of the Sūba frequently sent armies against him and went there themselves, on account of difficult roads and thick jungles, they contented themselves with taking two or three diamonds and left him undisturbed (Jahāngīr, *op cit*, p 154). Jahāngīr also gives a brief description of the region—Ed

<sup>4</sup> M I Borah Eng tr *Bahārīstān i-~~G~~harbī*, vol I (Gauhati, 1936), p 257

(2) and further, one who is renowned for justice and benevolence, Abu l Muzaffar-Nūru d Din Tughlugh Bīshah,

(3) son of Akbar Bīdshāh, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, the construction of this mosque, the grace of the attention of the asylum of sanctity, Shaiḥh Barmazīd,

(4) and by the efforts of the pride of the Vazīrs, the essence of Tāhā and Yūsuf,<sup>1</sup> the commander-in-chief, Mirak Husain al Khawāfi, the Bakhshī,

(5) completed in the 12th year of Jahāngīr's accession, corresponding to A. H. 1026 (1617 A. D.)

This is quite an important inscription. It is one of the very few Muslim records to be found in the district. It is the second epigraph bearing the name of a Muslim king to be found at Gayā, the first being an inscription in Sanskrit set up in V. S. 1429 in the time of Fīrūz Tughlugh. It is, in the case of the epigraph of Safdar Khān (No IV, *supra*), the only memento on stone of Mirak Husain who was the Bakhshī of Bihār. It is difficult to say what connection with Gayā—a *maḥāl* of the province under Akbar—he had, Gayā does not appear to have enjoyed at any time the status of a capital place. Likewise, it is rather surprising that though Mirak Husain was an official of importance under Jahāngīr, having been appointed Bakhshī and *Wāqī'a-nauīs* of the province in 1615, as will be seen presently and for more than a century to come his descendants are stated to have held the post of Bakhshī under the Mughals, only very prominent events of his career are known.<sup>2</sup> Among these, those relating to his appointment to and transfer from Bihār, which took place respectively in the middle of April 1615 and in about October 1617 have been referred to only by Jahāngīr in his Memoirs,<sup>3</sup> and it was during this period that the construction of the mosque took place.

Another important personage mentioned in the epigraph is Shaiḥh Barmazīd, who is referred to as a saintly person. He seems to have been held in great reverence by Mirak Husain as is implied by the epigraph. While unfortunately nothing much is known about him, there is an interesting reference to him in a near contemporary *Maḥfūz* of a 17th century saint of Bihār, namely Shāh Ruknu d Din Shattārī. According to this, Shaiḥh Barmazīd was a disciple of Shāh Tāju'd-Din Shattārī, and Rājā Mān Singh was very much devoted to him. When the Rājā defeated 'Abdu'r-Rahim Sūr, a Pathān chief of Bihār, he took over all his personal possessions, including a copy of the *Maḍanul Ar-rūr*, a standard work on the principles and practices of the Shattārī order. The manuscript was presented by the Rājā to Shaiḥh Barmazīd. Later, when 'Abdu'r-Rahim recovered his area he demanded back the manuscript, but the saint was not inclined to return it, out of reverence for the work. The matter was then referred to Shāh 'Alā'u'd-Din Shattārī, an ancestor of Shāh Ruknu d Din, who advised Shaiḥh Barmazīd to get a copy made for his use and return the manuscript to its owner.

#### VII INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1032, FROM CHAMPANAGAR (BHAGALPUR)

This inscription is fixed over the central *mihrah* in the facade of the domed mausoleum of an unknown saint, situated in Champānagar, a suburb of Bhāgalpur town. The mausoleum, locally

<sup>1</sup> The epithet is used in regard to Sayyids who claim descent from the Prophet.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Antiquary* vol. XXII p. 314. At Kāko in Jhānābād sub-division of Gayā district also, there is a couple of inscriptions, *RIE*, 1960-61, Nos. D. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> For details of these see Shah Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 259-60.

<sup>4</sup> *Jahāngīr op. cit.* pp. 145-199. I owe the identification of and references to Mirak Husain to Shri A. A. Kadir, of the office of the Superintending Epigraphist, Nagpur.





(a) Inscription, dated A H 1026, from Gayā (p 9)

ايام سلطنت شهنشاه اعظم عالم الملك رقاب محمد صاحب الجواهر  
 والكرم الموصوف بالعدل الاون ابو الطاهر نور الدين جلال الدين  
 ابن بربان شاه خلد ملكه بن ابى بن سجد بن نوبخت بن شاه  
 چمى فخر لوز را خلاصه و باين مجمع الكمال امير حسين بن ابى  
 در سلطون جاكيزى موافق اسليه جرمى تمام پير

SCALE 16

(b) Epigraph, dated A H 1032, from Champānagar (p 11)

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
 ابو بكر صديق الله عز وجل  
 عثمان رضى الله عنه  
 علي رضى الله عنه  
 ابي طالب رضى الله عنه  
 فاطمة رضى الله عنها  
 الحسن رضى الله عنه  
 الحسين رضى الله عنه  
 جعفر رضى الله عنه  
 محمد رضى الله عنه  
 و آله و صحبه اجمعين  
 چون اضعف عباد الله خليفه سمرقندى حسب الحكم نوبختى العباس بن شاه پير جهانگير  
 بغداد فوداى سمرقندى آمد و در بنائى عمارت ابن روضه منوره توفيق يافت ۱۰۳۲ هجری

called the Tomb of *Makhdūm Sūhib*,<sup>1</sup> is built on a squarish brick platform on an elevated mound, and comprises a single chamber, containing one stone, and two brick, tombs, covered by a big dome with three elliptical bands over it. The walls under the dome, are, comparatively, low and quite plain. The western part of the building, including a part of the dome, the platform and the walls, has fallen partly due to the erosion of the *Champānālā* which flows beneath it. Tradition has it that this *rālā* forms the old discarded bed of the main river, Ganges, and in olden days, big mercantile boats, which sailed down it, often got drowned at this spot. By way of propitiation, a wealthy merchant built the mausoleum after which the accidents stopped. But according to the eulogium, the mausoleum was built, as will be seen presently, by a *Mughal* official.

The inscriptional slab measures 67 by 36 cms. and contains a four line text, which except for the First Creed, is in Persian. The First Creed, inscribed at the top, is followed by the names of the first four Caliphs, written inside a lined panel, while the main historical portion occupying the last two lines records the construction of the mausoleum by *Khwāja Ahmad Samargandī* during his tenure as the *Faujdar* of the *sarkār* of Monghyr in 1622-23. It also states that the *Khwāja* had been posted at Monghyr by the orders of Prince *Parvīz*, son of emperor *Jahāngīr*.

The text is executed partly in *Naskh* and partly in *Nasta'liq* characters of a tolerably good type —

## TEXT

## Plate III (b)

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) ابو بكر صدیق رضی الله عنه عمر فاروق رضی الله عنه عثمان رضی الله عنه  
علی کرم الله وجهه

(۳) حوال اصعب عناد الله حواحه احمد سمرقندی حسب الحكم بواب ولس الفات ساهرازم  
عالمنا ساه روار حما گير

(۴) بخدمت فوجداری سرکار منگیر آمده بود به بنای عمارت این روضه منوره تومنی باب  
سنة ۳۲ هـ هزار سی و دو

## TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but Allāh, Muhammad is His Prophet

<sup>1</sup> *RIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 60. Its text was first published by Blochmann in *PJSB*, 1873, p. 200, where it is reported to have been 'found by General Cunningham at the Durgā called the *Makhdūm Barārī* or domicile of virtues' where some *Sunni Makhdūm* or saint is buried. Its text was also published in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1894), p. 28.

(2) Abū Bakr Ṣiddīq, may Allāh be pleased with him, 'Umar Fārūq, may Allāh be pleased with him, 'Uthmān, may Allāh be pleased with him, 'Alī, may Allāh illumine his face (with mark of approbation)

3. When (this) weakest of Allāh's creatures, Khwāja Ahmad Samarqandī, had, under orders of the Nawāb of Kolc titles, the prince of the people of the world, namely Shāh Parvīz (son of) Jahāngīr,

4. came to (render) the service of the *faujdārī* of Munger (Monghyr), he had the good fortune to build this structure of the illumined mausoleum Year (A H) 1032, one thousand (and) thirty-two (1622-23 A D)

The epigraph thus belongs to the time of Prince Parvīz's viceroyalty of Bihār. He was appointed governor of the province in the 16th year of Jahāngīr's reign (1621), but most probably, he did not come to Bihār or if at all he came, he stayed there for a very short period.<sup>1</sup>

No information is available about Khwāja Ahmad Samarqandī, beyond that stated in the epigraph which is thus historically important. The epigraph provides the new information that at the time of the date of the record, the Khwāja was the *Faujdār* of the the Monghyr *sarkār*.

Monghyr town, which gives the name to the *sarkār*, was a place of strategic importance in early days. Being situated on the bank of the Ganges at a point where the Kharagpur hill-range closes in from the south, it commands both the land and the river routes to the east and the west. Its strategic situation made it an important military outpost of the Bengāl Sultāns whose western boundary it marked as late as the first quarter of the 16th century. Under the Mughals too, it continued to be an important fortress, and served for long as the *point d'appui* of their forces in their struggle against the Afghāns and also formed the headquarters of the *sarkār*. It was the headquarters of Prince Shujā' during his governorship of Bihār, and figured prominently in the War of Succession. Probably, in the reign of Farrukh Siyar, the *sarkār* was renamed as Sarkār-i-Farrukh-nagar as evidenced by several *farmāns* in the Monghyr Collectorate Records, which mention this name along with the old one.

No information is available about the saint for whom the mausoleum was built. Unfortunately the epigraph also does not shed any light on the identity of the saint. A local gentleman, Muhammad Idrīs,<sup>2</sup> informed me that considerable *jāgīr* lands were attached to the shrine for its upkeep and that several *sanads* relating to these grants were in the custody of a local Homeopath physician. Unfortunately I could not contact him. But if this be true, these documents may throw some light on the identity of the saint.

### VIII INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1035, FROM BĀRH

The tablet bearing this inscription which measures 55 by 20 cms. is fixed over the central doorway in the facade of the mosque in Bārh, a sub-divisional headquarters in Patnā district.<sup>3</sup> On

<sup>1</sup> For the inscription, dated A. H. 1036 (1626 A. D.), mentioning Parvīz's name and recording the construction of a mosque in Patnā by his subordinate Nazār Khwājah, see *SIAPS* 1966, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> He was also very helpful to me in the procurement of the rubbing, and I take this opportunity of acknowledging my thanks to him.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1935-36, No. D, 71,

either side, over the right and left doorways, are two other slabs containing only religious texts<sup>1</sup>. The text of the epigraph under study consists of three lines, of which the first is taken up by the First Creed while the remaining two have a Fragment of two Persian verses, recording the construction of a mosque by two brothers Shaikh Mahmūd and Mas'ūd, during the reign of Jahāngir, in 1625-26

The style of writing of the First Creed is *Naskh*, while that of the Persian Fragment is *Nasta'liq*, of a fairly good type in both the cases. The text has been read as under —

## TEXT

## Plate II (b)

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) محمد ساه نورالدين جهانگیر بنا شد مسجد محمود و مسعود

(۳) چو حسام سال تاراج بناتس حرد گمنا نگو کر سنج محمود

## TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but Allāh, Muhammad is His Prophet

(2) In the reign of the king, Nūru'd Dīn Jahāngir, this mosque of Mahmūd and Mas'ūd (or fine and auspicious mosque)<sup>2</sup> was built

(3) As I sought the year of its construction, Wisdom said, "Say, it is (built) by Shaikh Mahmūd

The second part of the last hemistich forming the chronogram yields A H 1035 (1625-26 A D) as the date of construction

It will be seen that the chronogram mentions only the name of Shaikh Mahmūd as the builder, but in the corresponding hemistich of the first verse the name of (Shaikh) Mas'ūd, his brother, is also mentioned. It appears from an old family genealogy that Mahmūd and Mas'ūd were brothers and that the family claimed descent from Imām Tāj Muhammad Faqīh, the progenitor of the celebrated Manerī saints. It also appears from an Old Court Proceedings<sup>3</sup> dated 1839, that Shaikh Mas'ūd was granted 728 *biqhas* of rent-free land in *mauzas* Syedpur Chunaria and Syedpur Barsāwān in *pargana* Ghīyāspur (comprising parts of the present Bārḥ sub division) in the reign of Jahāngir. When resumption proceedings were started regarding these lands, the successors of Shaikh Mas'ūd stated that since the original grant, several other confirmatory *farmāns* and *sanads*, including a *farmān* of Shāh Jahān dated the 7th *Khurdād* of the 3rd regnal year and a *sanad* of the famous Vazīr Sa'du'llāh *Khān*, had been issued to them and they had been in continuous possession of the lands. The original *farmān*, it was stated, had been burnt in a fire, but the others were in their possession and were produced in the Court as exhibits

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1955-56, Nos D, 69-70

<sup>2</sup> There is a pun on these two words which may be taken to indicate the names of the brothers and also to qualify the building

<sup>3</sup> I am obliged to the late Qazī Sayeed Sāhib of Patnā for making available to me the Court Proceedings and a copy of the genealogy

Shaykh Mahmūd died childless. He was buried somewhere near the mosque and the detached epitaph of his tomb is now let in the outer side of the compound wall of his mosque.<sup>1</sup> According to it, he died in A. H. 1038 (1628-29 A. D.) or three years after he built the mosque. It also appears from its text that he had performed pilgrimage of the Holy Cities.

# INSCRIPTIONS OF SHAH JAHAN FROM MADHYA PRADESH

BY M F KHAN

*Epigraphical Assistant*

A few Mughal inscriptions of the time of emperors Akbar and Jahāngīr from Madhya Pradesh were studied by my colleague Shri S. A. Rahim formerly Epigraphical Assistant and now Lecturer, Arts, and Science College, Aurangabad in the last issue of this Journal<sup>1</sup>. In this article, I propose to study nine inscriptions of Shāh Jahān copied in the past few years from various places of the Mālwa region which has now been merged in the present state of Madhya Pradesh. These range in their dates from 1631 to 1657.

Mālwa is the name generally given to the territory lying between the great Vindhya on the south, which forms a point just south of Gwālior on the north, the ridge running from south to north and starting from Bhilsā, on the east, and Rājputānā on the west. The region rose to considerable prominence in the beginning of the eleventh century under the illustrious Parmāra rulers. The first Muslim inroad into the region seems to have been made in 1233 under Iltutmish. But it was effectively occupied, under Alau d Dīn Khilji, whose commander Amir Malik annexed it to the Delhi Sultanate. The last of the imperial governors under the succeeding Tughluq dynasty<sup>2</sup> was Dilāwar Khān Ghorī who later became independent and founded the kingdom of Mālwa, which was, according to emperor Bābur, the fourth most important kingdom of Hindustān. Bābur occupied part of Mālwa in 1526, and about a decade later, his son and successor Humāyūn, attacked Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt and drove him out of Mālwa, defeating him successively at Mandasor and Māndu. Sher Shāh, the founder of the Sūr dynasty, obtained possession of various places of the region, namely Gwālior, Māndu, Sārangpur, Bhilsā, and Rūsen, and appointed Shujā' al Khān as viceroy<sup>3</sup>. As an independent province under Akbar, its boundaries extended to Bāndhaw (Rewā) in the east, Mārwar on the north, Baglānā on the south and Gujrat and Ajmer on the west. Mālwa commanded special importance from its position on the great route along which Mughal armies marched from Delhi to Deccan<sup>4</sup>.

## I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1040, FROM SĀRANGPUR

The earliest record of this group is from Sārangpur<sup>5</sup>. Situated on the east bank of the Kālī Sind river in 23°31' and 76°29', Sārangpur was under Sārang Singh Khichī in 1298 and it was from him that it received its present name. In 1526 it was wrested from Mahmūd Khilji of Mālwa by Rānā Sāngā of Chitor, but during the confusion caused by the invasion of Bābur, it soon fell to Mallū Khān whose attempts to assume independence were foiled by Sher Shāh, and was placed by

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica: Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIASPS)* 1968, pp. 51-68.

*Imperial Gazetteer (IG)* (Oxford, 1908) vol. IX, pp. 322-23.

<sup>2</sup> For the history of the Mālwa Sultāns see Dr U. N. Dey *Medieval Malwa* (Delhi, 1965).

<sup>3</sup> For a description and brief history of Mālwa please see *IG*, vol. IX, pp. 338-40; vol. XVII, pp. 103-04.

<sup>4</sup> For Abu l-Fadl's description of the Mālwa suba see *A'in-i Akbari*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1872), pp. 455-73.

<sup>5</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AIEP)*, 1963-64, No. D, 132.

(11) Khawāja Phūl Chronogram Verse

No uninitiated (lit. raw) person can attain the state of a perfectly initiated (lit. ripe) one. The (word) khātīm (meaning completed) forms the date of construction of the mosque. And there be peace.

(12) Inscribed by Hāfiz Shāikh Dāūd

The year is afforded by the chronogrammatic word khātīm contained in line 11 which yields A. H. 1040. The mosque was thus completed on 1st Shawwāl 1040 (23rd April 1631).

## II INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1044, FROM MAHESHWAR

The tablet bearing the second inscription, found by me during my official visit to Maheshwar in West Nimār district, in December 1966, is fixed on the right side of the central *mihāb* of the mosque locally known Shāhī Masjid in Mahalla Jalālpurā near the Bīzār-Chawk<sup>1</sup>. Maheshwar, an important place of Hindu pilgrimage, is situated in 22° 11' N and 75° 36' E, amidst picturesque surroundings on the north bank of the Nerbādā river. It was regarded an important frontier post during the time of the Sultāns of Mālwa, and under Akbar, it was the headquarters of a *mahāl*<sup>2</sup>. Of the time of the latter, there is an inscription here, in the form of a visitor's record, of the famous Mīr Muhammad Ma'sūm Nāmī of Bhakkar<sup>3</sup>.

The tablet measures 60 by 38 cms. and contains five lines of writing in Persian. Unlike in the case of most of the epigraphs, the text is incised on the stone. The style of writing, which is somewhat affected by weather, is fine *Nasta'liq*. Incidentally, there is a curious mistake in the spelling of the title of the emperor. The epigraph refers to the reign of Shāh Jahān, and to the governorship of Sharīf Khān and records the completion of some edifice—the mosque, if the tablet is *in situ*, which however, is not certain—through the efforts of Mīr Bāqī Hisārī in 1634. The figure giving the year is damaged but it is in all probability A. H. 1044.

This record is important in that it refers to one Sharīf Khān, the governor of the region, who is almost if not completely ignored by contemporary historians. This Sharīf Khān is not to be confused with his far more celebrated namesake Sharīf Khān Amīru'l-Umarā, as the latter had expired a few years before the date of the record under study<sup>4</sup>. It is also difficult to say if he is identical with Sharīf Khān who is mentioned in contemporary chronicles in connection with the award of increase in rank on several occasions<sup>5</sup>. In A. H. 1042, i.e. about a year and a half before the date of the present record, he is stated to have received the rank of 1000 personal and 500 horse. It is also not certain if the reference in the epigraph is to Sharīf Khān's tenure of governorship of Mālwa or of the *sarkār* of Māndu<sup>6</sup> in which Maheshwar, the findspot of the epigraph, was then situated. Very likely, the reference is to the latter, for, at the time of the record, Khān Daurān had been continuing as viceroy of the region<sup>7</sup> and moreover, if Sharīf Khān had held this post he should have been mentioned in historical works. Anyway, the epigraph provides new information about the local history of Maheshwar. The identity of Mīr Bāqī Hisārī, a Sayyid, cannot be ascertained and established. He must have been associated with Maheshwar in some administrative capacity or the other.

<sup>1</sup> *EPIC*, 1967, 7, No. D. 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Abul Faḍl*, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

<sup>3</sup> *EPIC*, 1966, 67, No. D, 115. It has been published by Professor Dr. B. D. Vermā in Sardesai Commemoration Volume (Bombay, 1961), pp. 265-67.

<sup>4</sup> *Shih Nawaz Khān*, *op. cit.*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), p. 153.

<sup>5</sup> *Abd al-Hamid*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, part I, pp. 119, 253, 477, 542.

<sup>6</sup> *Abul Faḍl*, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

<sup>7</sup> The Ujjain inscription set up during his governorship is dated A. H. 1049 (p. 20, *infra*).





## INSCRIPTIONS OF SHĀHJAHĀN FROM MADHYA PRADESH

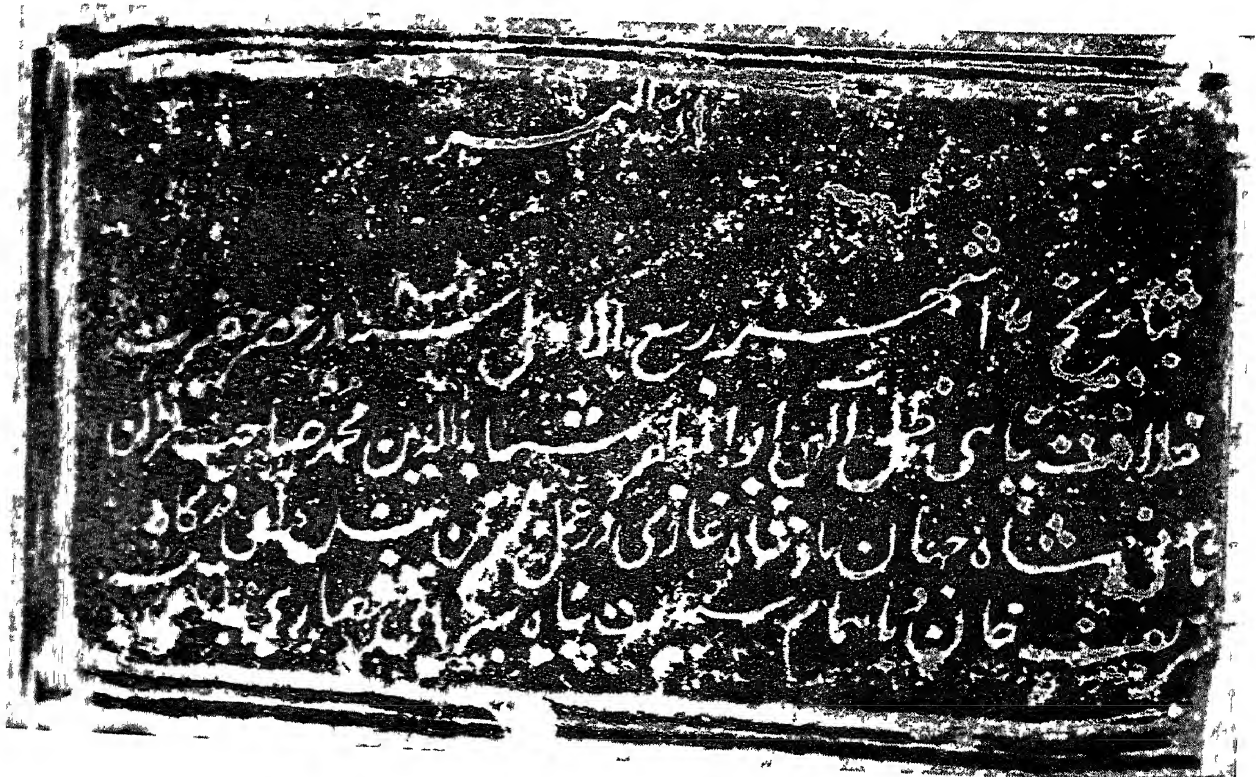
( PLATES IV—VII )

(a) Inscription, dated A H 1040, from Sārangpur (p 16)



SCALE 23

(b) Epigraph, dated A H 1044, from Maheshwar (p 19)



SCALE 24

The text of the record is deciphered as under —

1EVI

Plate IV(b)

(۱) الله اكبر

(۲) تاريخ ۱۷ سمر ربيع الاول سنة ۱۰۴۴ در عصر حصر

(۳) خلافت شاهي صل الله عليه ابوالمعشر سمان الدين (sic) محمد صاحب وراں

(۴) انى شاه جهان ادساره عارى در حمل كمارن بنده ابن درگاه

(۵) سراف حال و اهتمام سوارب يناه مير افى حصارى لاهمام رسند

# TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Great

(2) On the 17th of the month of Rabī u l-Awwal, year (A H ) 1044 (') (31st August 1634) in the reign of His Excellency

(3) the refuge of the Caliphate the shadow of God, Abu l-Muzaffar Shihābu d-Dīn Muhammad Sihib Qirān-i-

(4) Thānī Shih Jahan Bādshāh Ghāzī, during (the time of) the governorship of the humblest servant of this court,

(5) Sharīf Khān and under the supervision of the asylum of chiefship (i.e. Sayyid) Mir Bāqī Hīrāzī, (this edifice—mosque ?) was completed

## III INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1049, FROM UJJAIN

The third inscription, which was copied from Ujjain by Shri W H Siddiqī, is fixed over the gate called Nadi-Duwāzī, leading to the river Sipri<sup>1</sup> Ujjain, regarded as one of the seven cities of India sacred to the Hindus, was taken by Iltutmish in 1235 and since then it continued under Muslim rule till the eighteenth century Under Akbar it was made the chief town of the Mālwa province

The inscriptional tablet measures 65 by 30 cms and contains four lines of Persian verse and prose which is carved in relief in *Nasta'liq* The calligraphy is of no particular merit, but the quality of verse is quite good The record states that the gate — evidently the same as the one now called Nadi-Duwāza on which it appears — was constructed under the supervision of Sīdī 'Azīz during the governorship of Khān-i-Daurān Bahādur and reign of emperor Shāh Jahan in 1639-40

The present record shows that Khān-i-Daurān continued to be the governor of Mālwa, though at the time of the record he was on active service in Deccan and elsewhere Sīdī 'Azīz, who was

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1963-64 No D 150 For other inscriptions of Ujjain see *ibid*, Nos D, 147-49 151-57

<sup>2</sup> *IG*, vol XXIV pp 114

in charge of the construction, is not known to us. He was apparently an official. This mention of an Abyssinian official of the Mughals is not without interest.

The text reads as follows --

## TEXT

## Plate V(a)

- (۱) بعهد دولت شاه جهان آن خسرو اسلام  
که سد چون مهر عالم فیض تاب از نور اسلامت  
(۲) مرتب گشت در انامس این دروازه پرفیض  
الهی تا جهان ناسد بود اندر جهان نامش  
(۳) جو از سر تا قدم در فیض آمد این در رحمت  
محلے فیض ناک از بهر آن سد سال انعامت  
(۴) در عمل حاندوران بهادر و ناهمام سیدی عزیر مرتب شد سنه ۱۰۴۹ هـ

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of Shāh Jahān, that king of Islām, from the light of whose Faith, the world was benefitted as it does from (that of the) sun ,

(2) in his time, this bountiful gate was constructed O God ! May his name remain in this world as long as it lasts

(3) As this gate of mercy is full of blessings from top to bottom, for that reason the date of its completion was found (in the phrase ) *bountiful place*

(4) In the time of the governorship of Khān-i-Daurān Bahādur and under the supervision of Sidi 'Azīz it was completed Year (A H ) 1049 (1639-40 A D )

## IV INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1049, FROM KANJIA

This inscription was found by Shri S A Rahīm in Kanjia, now a small village in Khurai Tahsil of Sangar district, situated at a distance of about 110 kilometres north west of the district headquarters. The present name of the town appears to be a corrupt form of 'Karanjia' which is the way it is recorded in the epigraph. In Akbar's time also, it went under the latter name, it was the headquarters of a *pargana* in Chanderi *sarkār*, and had a stone fort <sup>1</sup>

The inscriptional tablet which measures 82 by 45 cms is fixed over the central *mahrāb* of the 'Idgāh and is inscribed with a four-line text in Persian, executed in ordinary *Nasta'liq* script. The record states that in the time of emperor Shāh Jahān, when the *pargana* Karanjia was included in the *jāgīr* of Nawwāb Sayyid Safdar Khān, the 'Idgāh was constructed in 1640 by 'Abdū'l-Wasī' Badakhshī, who is described in the text as 'the servant of the saintly persons'

<sup>1</sup> Abu'l Faqī, *op cit*, p 461

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1960-61, No D, 79



Epigraph dated A H 1049, from Ujjain (p 20)

بجہ دولت شاہ جهان الیٰ خیر و فی الخیر  
 سکت دریا پس این دروازہ فیض الٰہی جان شد بود این جان  
 چو ارستہ مقدم پر فیض الٰہی درخت فیض ناک از بہرین شاخ  
 در عا خانہ دوران بجا در و با تمام سیدی و مرزوب

SCALE 23

(b) Inscription dated A H 1049 from Kanjia (p 21)

وزیران دولت چا حسیوان ثانی شاہ جهان  
 بادشاہ غازی کی کرپور کرپور بیا کر نوای سیادت  
 و ثابت پناہ صفہ خان متر و سلم و دست عبدین  
 اتمام خادم الخیر اعظم الراجہ بخشی اتمام رسیدن الٰہی

SCALE 16

(c) Epigraph dated A H 1051 same place (p 22)

در دولت شاہ جهان الیٰ خیر و فی الخیر  
 سکت دریا پس این دروازہ فیض الٰہی جان شد بود این جان  
 چو ارستہ مقدم پر فیض الٰہی درخت فیض ناک از بہرین شاخ  
 در عا خانہ دوران بجا در و با تمام سیدی و مرزوب

The text of the inscription is quoted below —

TEXT

Plate V(b)

(۱) در زمان دولت صاحب قرآن نایب شاه جهان

(۲) نادرشاه عاری که در گنبد کربنده بجاگیر بواب سادات

(۳) و بقایب شاه صفدر خان مقرر و مسلم بود مسجد عندی

(۴) ناهمام خادم القراء عند الواسع بدخشی ناهمام رسید تاریخ ۲۷ دی الحج سنه ۱۰۴۹

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of Sāhib Qirān i-Thānī Shāh Jāhān

(2-3) Bādshāh Ghīzī, when the *pargana* of Karanjia was included in the *jāgīr* of Nawwāb, (who is) the asylum of chiefship (i.e. Sayyid) and refuge of leadership, Safdar Khān, the mosque for the prayers of the two 'Īds (i.e. the 'Īdgāh)

(4) was completed under the supervision of the servant of the saintly persons 'Abdu'l Wāsi' Badakhshī on the 27th of Dhu'l-Hijja, year 1049 (19th April 1640)

The record is important in more than one aspect. As stated above, it records the old name of the town, Karanjia and also indicates that it continued to be the headquarters of a *pargana* in the time of Shāh Jāhān as well. The epigraph further provides the important information that this *pargana* formed part of the *jāgīr* of Nawwāb Safdar Khān, who was one of the prominent officials of Shāh Jāhān. His name was Khawāja Qāsim, and the title of Safdar Khān was conferred upon him by Shāh Jāhān in his first regnal year i.e. in May 1628. It was then that he was given the *tuyūl* of Sironj (now in the adjoining Vidisha district), which, looking from the geographical position, seems to have included Karanjia also. In about May 1631, he was appointed governor of Delhi which post he seems to have held for about ten years with an interregnum of about six years during which he was in Irān as the royal ambassador.<sup>1</sup>

The present inscription supplies the interesting information that though Safdar Khān like Khān-i-Daurān, served elsewhere, he continued to enjoy his *jāgīr* in central India. This is an interesting piece of information regarding the Mughal administration of *jāgīrs*.

The other person 'Abdu'l-Wāsi' under whose supervision the 'Īdgāh was completed is nowhere mentioned in the historical records available to me. His *nisba* Badakhshī indicates foreign lineage. He also seems to have been an official attached to or serving under Safdar Khān.

V INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1051, FROM THE SAME PLACE

The tablet bearing the second inscription from Kanjia is set up over the central *mihṛāb* of a mosque called Qal'a-kī-Masjid.<sup>2</sup> It measures 1.28 m. by 35 cms. and contains four lines of Persian.

<sup>1</sup> For details of his career see Shah Nawaz Khān op cit vol II, pp 733-36. References to the exact dates in his career will be found under his name and title in the respective Indices in 'Abdu'l Hamid *op cit* and Muhammad Sāhib op cit.

<sup>2</sup> ARIE, 1960-61 No. D, 83.

verse and prose inscribed in ordinary *Nasta'liq* which purport that the mosque was constructed by Chaudharī Safdar in 1642. It also records the fact that Nawwāb Safdar was the fief holder of the place.

The builder of the mosque, Chaudharī Safdar could not be traced in any historical work. He may have been an official or an agent of the Nawwāb.

The text of the epigraph is quoted below -

TTTT

Plate V(c)

(۱) که از عدل او هسب گیتی خو گلش	(۱) بدور سپهساز شاه جهان این
لب دیر خانه بناده جو گلش	(۲) مساحت حنا گسسته خون ناع حب
که آثار دس گسسته مثل خو روش	(۳) رمای بهاگر نواب صدر
(۴) که در ماه دو الحج تاریخ نه شد	سده یکمهراد و پنجاه یک بود
بنا کننده مسجد جودهری صدر	حمد الله بالخير (sic) و الطهر

#### TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the world-seeing emperor Shāh,<sup>1</sup> through whose justice, the world has become like a beautiful garden,

(2) the prayer houses (mosques) have become like the garden of Paradise and the idols of the temple are down-trodden like the dust bin

(3) (This mosque was built) at the time when the fief was held by Nawwāb Safdar, during which the religious edifices have come to light like sky (?),

the year was one thousand and fiftyone when the day was ninth of the month of Dhu'l-Hijja (9 Dhu'l-Hijja 1051=1st March 1642)

May Allāh end it with grace and success. The builder of the mosque is Chaudharī Safdar.

#### VI INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1053, FROM BHIKANGĀON

The sixth epigraph was copied by me from Bhikangāon, a Tahsil headquarters in the West Nimār district. In Akbar's period, Bhikangāon was included in the Bijāgarh *sarkār* and had a stone fort and a big market for horses.<sup>2</sup>

The arch-shaped epigraphical tablet measuring 55 cms from apex to bottom and 68 cms in width, is fixed on the right side of the central *mahnāb* of the 'Idgāh situated on the bank of the river.<sup>3</sup> It is inscribed in relief with seven lines of writing comprising in the main a Persian Fragment of five verses. The style of writing is beautiful *Nasta'liq*. The quality of verse is also fairly good. The text records that in the reign of Shāh Jahān, the mosque was built in 1643-44 by the

<sup>1</sup> There is a pun on the king's name in the phrase Shāh & *Jahānbin* in the original.

<sup>2</sup> Abu'l Fadl, *op cit* p. 463.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. D, 109.



emperor's son Shāh Aurangzeb, with a view to provide the facility of prayers to the Muslims. The text is designed by Husain Shirāzī<sup>1</sup>

The epigraph is thus quite important in indicating that the place was an important halting point on the Trunk road to Deccan and also that Prince Aurangzeb considered it a fit place to be developed. It must have had a sizeable Muslim population, necessitating a prayer-house.

The text reads as follows —

TEXT

Plate VI(a)

(a) *Main text*

نا رب	نا حی	(۱) نا رب
(۲) سبحان ربی الاعلیٰ		
در رمان سہاب ملک و دین	حسرو	ناحسب سہاہ
سہ اورنگ ریب دین پرور	نقد	آن پادشاہ عالی ساں
ارپی دوی مسلمانہ	ساحب مسجد دریں	حسبہ مکان
ربن نا چون لطف آن سہ دین	مسکحل اہل قبلہ	سد آسان
ہانہ لطف واسع	میان	۱ ۵۳
ہانہ لطف واسع	میان	۱ ۵۳

(b) *In the centre of the last two lines*

کتبہ حسن سراری

TRANSLATION

(a)

(1) O Lord ! O Eternal ! O Lord !

(2) Glorified be my Lord the most Exalted

(3) In the reign of Shihāb (lit. bright star) of the community and religion,<sup>2</sup> the king who bestows crowns (namely), Shāh Jahān,

(4) the current coin of that dignified emperor (i.e. his son), Shāh Aurangzeb, the cherisher of religion,

(5) constructed a mosque at this auspicious place for the progress of the religion

(6) Since by this edifice, through the kindness of that king of the religion, the difficulty of the men of *qibla* (i.e. those who offer prayers) was solved,

<sup>1</sup> There is another inscription in the same mosque to be found on the central *mihrab*. It merely contains the First Creed followed by the date of the construction and is designed by the same scribe (ARIE 1966-67, No D, 108).

<sup>2</sup> Reference to the emperor's title Shihāb-ud Dīn.



(7) the Invisible Angel proclaimed for its date, "(It is) *the abode of the kindness of the All-pervading obliging Lord*" (A H ) 1053 (1643-44 A D )

(b) Written by Husain Shirāzī

The style of writing is of a fairly high order and the scribe Husain Shirāzī must have been well versed in calligraphy But unfortunately it is difficult to establish his identity

## VII INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1065, FROM KHARGONE

Khargone which was the chief town of a *mahāl* in the Bijāgarh *sarkār*<sup>1</sup> in former times, is now the headquarters of the West Nimār district and is situated in 21° 49' N and 75° 39' E on the left bank of the Kundī river, a tributary of the Narbadā In the course of my visit to the place in 1966, I was informed by Mr Hārūn Bhāi, an industrialist and a prominent personality of the town, about an epigraphical tablet that was lying loose in the out house of the Tomb of Hadrat Mūsā, and I had its impression prepared The original findspot of the tablet is not on record<sup>2</sup>

The inscription is historically important as it furnishes a new piece of information which is not to be met with in contemporary or later chronicles It states that in the time of Shāh Jahān, Husain who received the place in fief from prince Muhammad Aurangzeb constructed a well and laid out a garden with a building therein for the comfort of the travellers and wayfarers in 1654 55 The date in Hīra era is given both in figures and a chronogram contained in the last line

The epigraph thus provides the interesting information that Khargone was included in the fief—*waṭan*—of Husain, who was responsible for the construction of a 'traveller's bungalow' with a well and a garden for the wayfarers It will be observed that Husain is mentioned in the record as having received the fief from Prince Aurangzeb Now we have, at least from available records, only one Husain who enjoyed the confidence of Aurangzeb in his princehood, and that is Mir Husain Khawāfi, his foster-brother, who received great honours and office during his kingship But some time before the time of our epigraph, which started after the greater part of Shāh Jahān's regnal year 28 was over, Mir Husain is reported to have left the Prince's service temporarily and joined Shāh Jahān in the 27th regnal year, and it was in the 30th regnal year that Prince Aurangzeb got for him the *faujdārī* of Hoshangābād and Handiā<sup>3</sup> But it is very likely that in the meantime Prince Aurangzeb might have conferred upon him some land in Khargone in a bid for reconciliation In any case he appears very likely to be identical with Husain of our record<sup>4</sup>

The text of this record consists of six verses in Persian engraved in relief in tolerably good *Nasta'liq* and arranged in twelve well-cut lozenge-shaped panels each containing a hemistich, on an area of 75 by 60 cms of white marble The space between the two panels in each line is also inscribed The slab being exposed to inclemencies of weather, the writing is damaged, and while the main text is more or less intact, the writing in the above-mentioned spaces in the middle has almost disappeared, except the date figure and the name Shāikh Ramadān who may have been either the supervisor of the work or the scribe of the epigraph

The quality of verse is fairly good

<sup>1</sup> IG, vol. XV, pp 251 52 Abu'l Fadl, *op cit* p 464, 'Abdu l Hamid, *op cit*, vol I, p 834  
<sup>2</sup> ARIE, 1966 67, No D, 111

<sup>3</sup> Shāh Nawāz Khān *op cit*, vol I p 798

<sup>4</sup> For a full account of his career, see *ibid*, pp 798 813

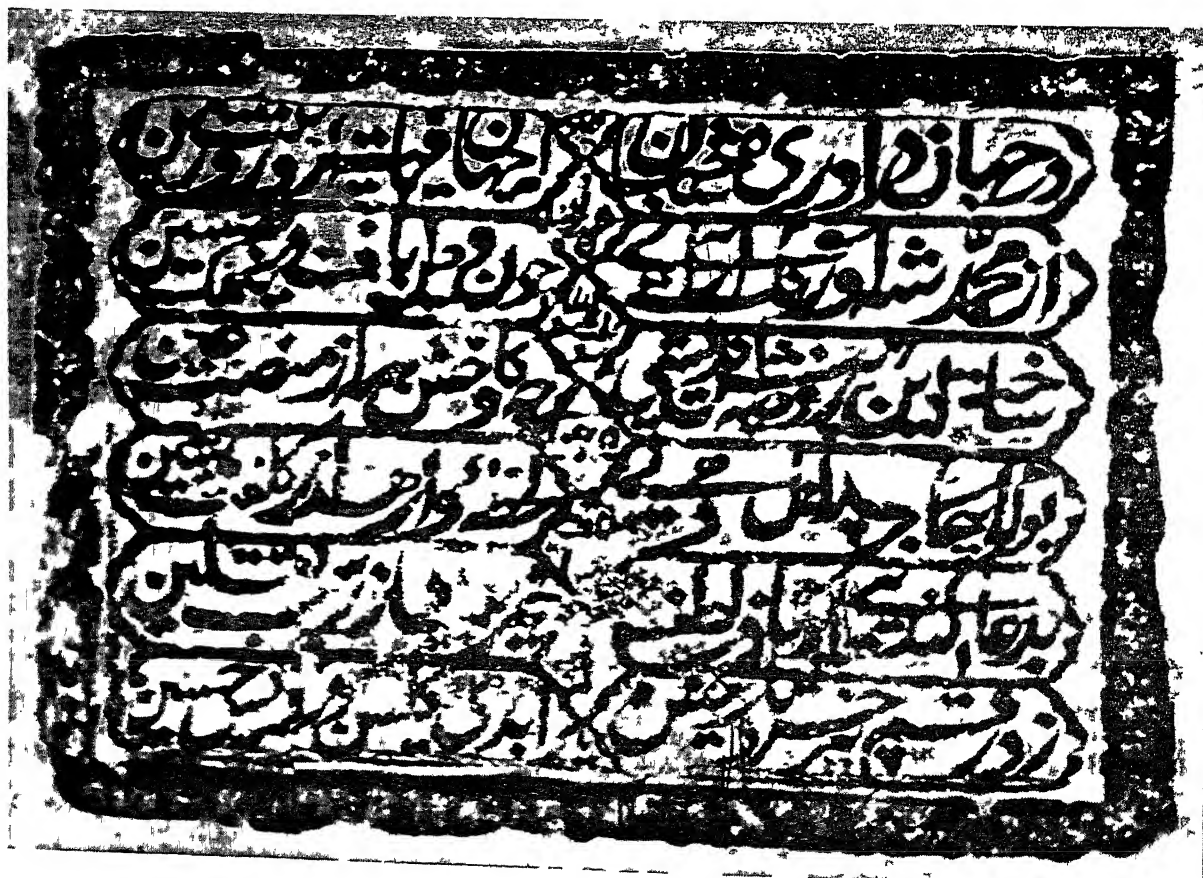


(a) Record, dated A H 1053, from Bhikangāon (p 23)



SCALE 15

(b) Inscription, dated A H 1065, from Khargone (p 25)



The text has been deciphered as under —

TEXT

Plate VI(b)

(۱) در جهان داوری ساه جهان	ناهو	که جهان ناه ارو رست و رن
(۲) ار محمد شه اورنگ آراے	سیح رمضان	حون وطن ناه درن ملک حسین
(۳) ساخت این روضه رپش اندسی		حه و کاحتس همه ار منصب عس
(۴) نوکه ایجا برسد اهل دلے	۱ ۶۵	لحظه وا رهد ار کلف و سس
(۵) بدعائے کند ارتداد ر لطف		حیر بیباد ر رب تمیلین
(۶) رد رقم پیر حرد نارنجس	ناهو	اندی گلش دروس حسین

TRANSLATION

(1) O He ! In the time of the government of Shāh Jahān, from whom the world has borrowed beauty and decoration ,

(2) when Husain received fief (*watan*) in this region from Muhammad, the throne-adorning monarch (i.e. prince Muhammad Aurangzeb) ,

(3) he constructed out of thoughtfulness this beautiful garden, with a well and a villa befitting his own dignity,

(4) (thinking that) may be, some man of heart might reach this place (and) rest here for a moment, relieved of hardship and fatigue—(A H ) 1065 (1654-55 A D )—

(5) (and) be kind enough to invoke (this) prayer, “may (the builder) receive reward (lit bounty) from the Lord of men ad genu”

(6) O He ! The old Man of Wisdom, wrote its date (in the words ) *an ete nal garden of darwish-like Husain*

The chronogram contained in the last hemistich yields the date which is also inscribed in figures in the middle of line 4

VIII-IX -INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1067 AND 1068 FROM SIRONJ

Sironj, the place of find of these two epigraphs, is situated between 24°6'N and 77°43'E It is now reduced to a mere Tahsil headquarters in Vidishā district, but has seen better days It is stated to have been a corrupt form of Sherganj, so named after the place was made his headquarters by Sher Shāh after its conquest by him <sup>1</sup> In Akbar's time, it was one of the *mahāls* of the *Chanderi sarkār* in the *sūba* of Mālwa and was granted in *ṭāgīr* by the emperor to Gharīb Dās Khīchī Chauhān of Raghugarh, as a reward for services rendered In olden times it lay on the direct route between the Deccan and Āgrā

<sup>1</sup> *IG* vol XXIII, pp 38 39

These epigraphs were copied some time back by Shri A A Kādīrī, Senior Epigraphical Assistant. From the calligraphical point of view, both are extremely pleasing records, designed by the same scribe. They also mention the same person, and as such are taken up here simultaneously.

The tablet of the earlier record is built up into the facade of the mosque, in Mahalla Rakābganj.<sup>1</sup> Measuring 50 by 25 cms, it is engraved in relief with a text running into four lines. Being exposed to weather, the writing is considerably affected and the letters have lost their prominence of relief at many places, but even then one is struck by the highly artistic calligraphy of the inscription, the style of writing being *Nasta'liq*. As a matter of fact, not only is the calligraphy of the record the finest among all the inscriptions of the present group, but it can also easily rank among the best calligraphical specimens in *Nasta'liq* style, and therefore it is a matter of regret that its scribe, whose name is fortunately mentioned in the record, should have remained unknown. The language is Persian.

The epigraph records the construction of a mosque in 1656-57 by Muhammad Sālih Siddiqī, who is stated to have held the office of the governorship (*ni āmat*) of the province of Mālwa.

Its text has been read as under —

#### TEXT

#### Plate VII(b)

- (۱) بحکم حدیث نبوی علیه من الصلوة افضلها من بنی لله مسجدا فی الدنیا بنی الله له  
(۲) دنیا فی الجنة در عهد خلافت سہاب الدین محمد صاحبقران تاج شاہ جہاں نادرشاہ عاری  
(ار) ندہ  
(۳) محمد صالح صدیقے کہ خدمت [بطا] مہ صوبہ مالوہ داست فی شہور سنہ یکہزار و  
سہ صد و ہفت ہجری اس  
(۴) بقعہ فیض بساد شد و بحساب حمل اس دو تاریخ گفتہ شد  
بقعہ فیض      معدد مشایخ      راقمہ بطامے

#### TRANSLATION

(1) In compliance with the injunction contained in the tradition of the Prophet, upon him be (Allāh's) choicest blessings, to wit, 'Whosoever builds for Allāh a mosque in this world, Allāh builds for him

(2) a house in Paradise', during the period of the caliphate of Shihābu'd-Dīn Muhammad Sāhib Qirān-i-Thānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī, (by) the humble servant,

(3) Muhammad Sālih Siddiqī who was holding the post of the viceroy (*ni āmat*) of the *sūba* (province) of Mālwa, in the year,

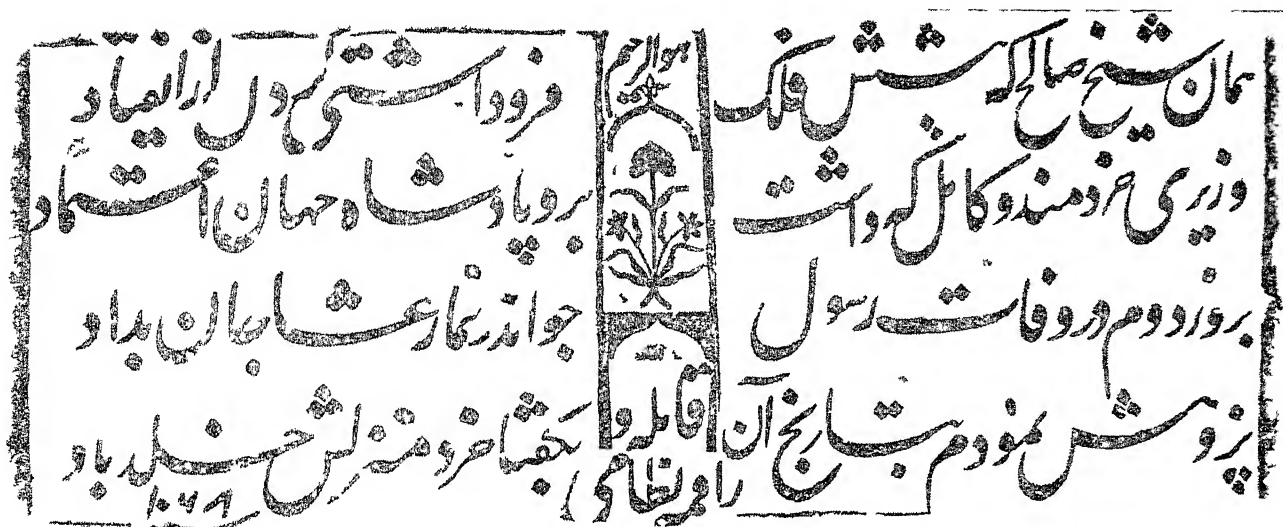
(4) one thousand and sixty and seven from the Migration (A H 1067=1656-57 A D ), this

(5) edifice of bounty was founded and according to the *Abjad* reckoning, these two chronograms were composed (1) *the edifice of bounty* and (2) *a mosque of holy persons*. Written by Nīzāmī

The two chronograms when worked out yield the above date which is also stated in words

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1960-61, No D, 135

(a) Epitaph, dated A. H. 1068, from Sironj (p. 27)



SCALF 125

(b) Inscription, dated A. H. 1067, same place (p. 26)

بمقام شیخ بوی بدین احداث نمودن بنیاد و انبیا علی  
 معانی و مودت و محاسن این محاسن و این محاسن و این محاسن  
 بر مصلحت و مصلحت و مصلحت و مصلحت و مصلحت و مصلحت  
 بدین مصلحت و مصلحت و مصلحت و مصلحت و مصلحت و مصلحت



The other inscription from Sironj and the last one of the present group is from what is locally known as the Dargāh of Shaiḵh Sāliḥ. The tablet, measuring 120 by 50 cms on which it is inscribed, is built up above the entrance, in the southern side of the mausoleum<sup>1</sup>. The record comprises four Persian couplets purporting that Shaiḵh Sāliḥ died while performing his 'ṭahā' (night) prayers on the 28th November 1657. The deceased who is further described in the text as an efficient minister enjoying the full confidence of the emperor and wielding great power, is evidently identical with Muhammad Sāliḥ of the previous epigraph. The text was both composed and inscribed by Nizāmī, who is also same as the one who wrote the last mentioned epigraph. From this epigraph, it would appear that Nizāmī was the *nom-de-plume* and he was both a poet and a calligrapher. The quality of verse is tolerably good.

The style of writing of this epigraph is also *Nasta'liq* of a fairly high order, but it does not come up to the standard of the calligraphy of the earlier specimen.

The text has been deciphered as under —

TEXT

Plate VII(a)

(a) *In the vertical panel in the middle*

(i) Upper portion

هو الرحيم

(ii) Lower portion

قالبه و

رافعه بطامي

(b) *Main text*

(۱)	همان شيخ صالح	که پيشش فلک	قرو	داشتی	گردن	او	انقياد
(۲)	وريري	حردمند و کامل	که داس	ترو	پادساه	حها	اعتماد
(۳)	ترو	دوم	در وفات	رسول	چو	اندر	نمار عسا
(۴)	پرويش	نمودم	نتاريخ	آن	نگفتا	حرد	منزلش
							جلدناد

سده ۶۸ ۱

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) He is merciful

(2) The composer and writer of this is Nizāmī.

(b) (1) Verily, Shaiḵh Sāliḥ, before whom the sky would bend its neck in submissiveness

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1960 61, No D, 137 1



(2) a wise and efficient minister, in whom the king of the world<sup>1</sup> had full confidence —

(3) when he died while performing the '*Ishā*' (night) prayers, on the second day in (the month of) the death of the Prophet (i.e. Rabi' I),

(4) I enquired about the date for that Wisdom declared, "*May his abode be Paradise*"

The chronogram yields the year A H, 1068 Thus Shāikh Sālih died in the night of 2nd Rabi' I 1068 (28th November 1657)

It will be agreed that these epigraphs are quite important in that they add to our knowledge of history They mention two persons, one of whom was a high Mughal official, he was the viceroy—*nāẓim* of the Mālwa province at the time of the construction of the mosque, i.e. in 1656-57 The other, Nizāmī, who composed the metrical epigraph and wrote both, appears to have been skilled in penmanship and an expert *Nasta'liq* writer As stated above, of the two epigraphs, the calligraphy of the mosque inscription can rank in excellence and artistic beauty among the best specimens of *Nasta'liq* script, but we know nothing about this calligrapher, whose name even would have remained unknown but for these epigraphs

Likewise, it is only from these epigraphs that we know that Shāikh Muhammad Sālih Siddiqi, the builder of the mosque, held the viceroyalty of Mālwa and was a 'perfect and wise minister enjoying the confidence of the emperor', and that he died in 1657 while offering his night prayers It is a matter of regret that a man of his position cannot be satisfactorily identified There are quite a few persons bearing this name who flourished in Shāh Jahān's reign, of whom the more prominent are Muhammad Sālih entitled Sipahdār Khān, Muhammad Sālih Tarkhān and Muhammad Sālih Khawāfi entitled Mu'tamad Khān The identification of the first two with Muhammad Sālih of our records is out of question as they died either earlier or later than the latter<sup>2</sup> And though the third, Mu'tamad Khān is reported to have died in the same year, i.e. A H 1068, he also cannot be intended, as he was killed in the battle of Samugarh, fighting on Dārā Shikoh's side, while our man expired while offering his prayers In any case, the epigraphs are of considerable value as they add to our knowledge of the history of Mālwa under the Mughals

<sup>1</sup> Reference to the emperor's name Shāh Jahān

<sup>2</sup> See Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op cit*, vol II, pp 427-29, vol III (Calcutta, 1891), pp 560-62

The other inscription from Sironj and the last one of the present group is from what is locally known as the Dargāh of Shāikh Sālīh. The tablet, measuring 120 by 50 cms on which it is inscribed, is built up above the entrance, in the southern side of the mausoleum<sup>1</sup>. The record comprises four Persian couplets purporting that Shāikh Sālīh died while performing his 'Ishā' (night) prayers on the 28th November 1657. The deceased who is further described in the text as an efficient minister enjoying the full confidence of the emperor and wielding great power, is evidently identical with Muhammad Sālīh of the previous epigraph. The text was both composed and inscribed by Nizāmī, who is also same as the one who wrote the last mentioned epigraph. From this epigraph, it would appear that Nizāmī was the *nom de-plume* and he was both a poet and a calligrapher. The quality of verse is tolerably good.

The style of writing of this epigraph is also *Nasta'liq* of a fairly high order, but it does not come up to the standard of the calligraphy of the earlier specimen.

The text has been deciphered as under —

TEXT

Plate VII(a)

(a) In the vertical panel in the middle

(i) Upper portion

هو الرحيم

(ii) Lower portion

قاله و

داعمه بطامي

(b) Main text

(۱)	همان شيخ صالح كه پيشش ملك	فرو داشتى گردن او	استياد
(۲)	وريري حردمند و كامل كه داشت	برو پادشاه	حمايان اعمااد
(۳)	برور دوم در وفات رسول	چو اندر تمار	عشا جان نداد
(۴)	پروقتى نمودم نتاريخ آن	نگمنا	حرد ميرلس خلدناد

سنة ۱۰۶۸

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) He is merciful

(2) The composer and writer of this is Nizāmī

(b) (1) Verily, Shāikh Sālīh, before whom the sky would bend its neck in submissiveness

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1960 61, No. D, 137 ¶

(2) a wise and efficient minister, in whom the king of the world<sup>1</sup> had full confidence —

(3) when he died while performing the '*Ishā*' (night) prayers, on the second day in (the month of) the death of the Prophet (i.e. Rabi' I),

(4) I enquired about the date for that Wisdom declared, "*May his abode be Paradise*"

The chronogram yields the year A H 1068 Thus Shaiḡh Sāliḡh died in the night of 2nd Rabi' I 1068 (28th November 1657)

It will be agreed that these epigraphs are quite important in that they add to our knowledge of history They mention two persons, one of whom was a high Mughal official, he was the viceroy—*nāẓim* of the Mālwa province at the time of the construction of the mosque, i.e. in 1656-57 The other, Nizāmī, who composed the metrical epigraph and wrote both, appears to have been skilled in penmanship and an expert *Nasta'liq* writer As stated above, of the two epigraphs, the calligraphy of the mosque inscription can rank in excellence and artistic beauty among the best specimens of *Nasta'liq* script, but we know nothing about this calligrapher, whose name even would have remained unknown but for these epigraphs

Likewise, it is only from these epigraphs that we know that Shaiḡh Muhammad Sāliḡh Siddiqī, the builder of the mosque, held the viceroyalty of Mālwa and was a perfect and wise minister—enjoying the confidence of the emperor', and that he died in 1657 while offering his night prayers It is a matter of regret that a man of his position cannot be satisfactorily identified There are quite a few persons bearing this name who flourished in Shāh Jahān's reign, of whom the more prominent are Muhammad Sāliḡh entitled Sipahdār Khān, Muhammad Sāliḡh Tarkhān and Muhammad Sāliḡh Khawāfi entitled Mu'tamad Khān The identification of the first two with Muhammad Sāliḡh of our records is out of question as they died either earlier or later than the latter<sup>2</sup> And though the third, Mu'tamad Khān is reported to have died in the same year, i.e. A H 1068, he also cannot be intended, as he was killed in the battle of Samugarh, fighting on Dārā Shikoh's side, while our man expired while offering his prayers In any case, the epigraphs are of considerable value as they add to our knowledge of the history of Mālwa under the Mughals

<sup>1</sup> Reference to the emperor's name Shāh Jahān

<sup>2</sup> See Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op cit*, vol II, pp 427-29, vol III (Calcutta, 1891), pp 560-62

The other inscription from Sironj and the last one of the present group is from what is locally known as the Dargāh of Shaiḵh Sālīh. The tablet, measuring 120 by 50 cms on which it is inscribed, is built up above the entrance, in the southern side of the mausoleum<sup>1</sup>. The record comprises four Persian couplets purporting that Shaiḵh Sālīh died while performing his 'Ishā' (night) prayers on the 28th November 1657. The deceased who is further described in the text as an efficient minister enjoying the full confidence of the emperor and wielding great power, is evidently identical with Muhammad Sālīh of the previous epigraph. The text was both composed and inscribed by Nizāmī, who is also same as the one who wrote the last mentioned epigraph. From this epigraph, it would appear that Nizāmī was the *nom-de-plume* and he was both a poet and a calligrapher. The quality of verse is tolerably good.

The style of writing of this epigraph is also *Nasta'liq* of a fairly high order, but it does not come up to the standard of the calligraphy of the earlier specimen.

The text has been deciphered as under —

TEXT

Plate VII(a)

(a) In the vertical panel in the middle

(i) Upper portion

هو الرحيم

(ii) Lower portion

قاله و  
راقمه نظامی

(b) Main text

(۱)	همان شیخ صالح	که پیشش فلک	قرو	داشی	گردن	او	انقیاد
(۲)	وربری	حردمند و کامل	که داس	برو	پادساه	حهای	اعتماد
(۳)	برور	دوم	در وفات	رسول	جو اندر	عمار	عشا جان
(۴)	پرویش	بودم	بتاریخ	آ	نگمنا	حرد	میرلس

سنة ۱۰۶۸

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) He is merciful

(2) The composer and writer of this is Nizāmī

(b) (1) Verily, Shaiḵh Sālīh, before whom the sky would bend its neck in submissiveness

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1960 61, No. D, 137 ¶

(2) a wise and efficient minister, in whom the king of the world<sup>1</sup> had full confidence —

(3) when he died while performing the '*Ishā'*' (night) prayers, on the second day in (the month of) the death of the Prophet (i.e. Rabi' I),

(4) I enquired about the date for that Wisdom declared, "*May his abode be Paradise*"

The chronogram yields the year A H 1068 Thus Shāikh Sālih died in the night of 2nd Rabi' I 1068 (28th November 1657)

It will be agreed that these epigraphs are quite important in that they add to our knowledge of history They mention two persons, one of whom . . . official, he was the viceroy—*nāẓim* of the Mālwa province at the time of the construction of the mosque, i.e. in 1656-57 The other, Nizāmī, who composed the metrical epigraph and wrote both, appears to have been skilled in penmanship and an expert *Nasta'liq* writer As stated above, of the two epigraphs, the calligraphy of the mosque inscription can rank in excellence and artistic beauty among the best specimens of *Nasta'liq* script, but we know nothing about this calligrapher, whose name even would have remained unknown but for these epigraphs

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<sup>1</sup> Reference to the emperor's name Shāh Jahān

<sup>2</sup> See Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op cit*, vol II, pp 427-29 vol III (Calcutta, 1891), pp 560-62.

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The style of writing of this epigraph is also *Nasta'liq* of a fairly high order, but it does not come up to the standard of the calligraphy of the earlier specimen.

The text has been deciphered as under —

TEXT

Plate VII(a)

(a) In the vertical panel in the middle

(i) Upper portion

هو الرحيم

(ii) Lower portion

قائده و

راقده بطامي

(b) Main text

(۱)	همان شيخ صالح كه پيش فلک	فرو	داشني	گردن	او	انقياد
(۲)	وربري حردمند و کامل كه داس	برو	پادشاه	حها		اعتماد
(۳)	برور دوم در وفات رسول	چو	اندر	عمار	عشا	جان نداد
(۴)	پرويش نمودم بتاريخ آن	نگمنا	حرد	ميرلس		جلد نداد

سده ۶۸ ۱

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) He is merciful

(2) The composer and writer of this is Nizāmī

(b) (1) Verily, Shāikh Sālīh, before whom the sky would bend its neck in submissiveness

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1960 61, No. D, 137

(2) a wise and efficient minister, in whom the king of the world<sup>1</sup> had full confidence —

(3) when he died while performing the '*Ishā*' (night) prayers, on the second day in (the month of) the death of the Prophet (i.e. Rabī' I),

(4) I enquired about the date for that Wisdom declared, "*May his abode be Paradise*"

The chronogram yields the year A H 1068 Thus Shāikh Sālih died in the night of 2nd Rabī' I 1068 (28th November 1657)

It will be agreed that these epigraphs are quite important in that they add to our knowledge of history They mention two persons, one of whom was a high Mughal official, he was the viceroy—*nāib* of the Mālwa province at the time of the construction of the mosque, i.e. in 1656-57 The other, Nizāmī, who composed the metrical epigraph and wrote both, appears to have been skilled in penmanship and an expert *Nasta'liq* writer As stated above, of the two epigraphs, the calligraphy of the mosque inscription can rank in excellence and artistic beauty among the best specimens of *Nasta'liq* script, but we know nothing about this calligrapher, whose name even would have remained unknown but for these epigraphs

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<sup>1</sup> Reference to the emperor's name Shāh Jahān

<sup>2</sup> See Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op cit*, vol II, pp 427-29 vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp 560-62

# MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAHARASHTRA

BY A. A. KADRI

*Senior Epigraphical Assistant*

It is proposed to study in this article fourteen inscriptions from various places in West-Khāndesh and Marāthwādā regions of Mahārāshtra. These range in their dates from 1597-98 to 1704-05, covering the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb who respectively claim 1, 2, 3 and 8 of these records.

The estampages of all but two of these records were obtained by me during the years 1961-67.

## Akbar

### I INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1006, FROM SHĀHGADH

The tablet bearing the earliest of these records which is unfortunately fragmentary, is fixed on the east wall of the Kālī Masjid at Shāhgadh, in Aurangābād district.<sup>1</sup> From the surviving text, it would appear that the text was inscribed on two rectangular slabs of equal size of which one cannot be traced now. Thus half of the text is lost to us.

The present slab measures 68 by 58 cms and contains five lines of writing, carved in relief in excellent *Nasta'liq* characters, of which the first and the last respectively contain part of the formula Allāhu Akbar and part of the date i. e. Ilāhī year 42. The remaining three lines contain the text proper, which originally consisted of six Persian couplets, but of these only three couplets have now survived. From the last hemistich, which seeks to give the chronogram for the year of construction, it appears that some edifice was constructed by Wafādār Khān in 1597-98 or A. H. 1006. The date seems to have been inscribed in figure on the right-side slab which is missing as is clear from the corresponding date in Ilāhī Era—year 42—which is inscribed in figure on the surviving tablet. The text also provides this important information that Sultān Murād after having conquered Deccan, had planned to make the findspot of the epigraph, i. e. Shāhgadh, the capital of Deccan to ensure the complete subjugation and proper administration of the region, and it was in this connection that the edifice was constructed. It may not be unreasonable to hold that the object constructed was a fort, in which case, the tablet may not be *in situ*.

It is a pity that the record which refers to the Mughal expedition of Deccan under prince Murād, is fragmentary, since the possibility of its having contained some additional information cannot be ruled out. The students of history know, incidentally, that when Abu'l-Fadl came to Shāhgadh, he had camped at the fort there.<sup>2</sup> Subsequent to the peace treaty concluded with Ahmadnagar on the 13th Insfandārmuz Ilāhī 40 (21st February 1596), the region of Berār was annexed to the Mughal empire, and it was there, at Mehkar, that the Prince had camped after raising the siege of the Nizām Shāhī capital. But the Deccanis were certainly not reconciled with the loss of the region, as is apparent from the struggle for supremacy over the region.

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1966-67, No. D, 144.

<sup>2</sup> Abu'l-Fadl, *Albar Nama*, vol. III (Calcutta 1887), pp. 718-19.



between the imperial forces and the Deccanī army, which has been described at some length in contemporary works <sup>1</sup>

A perusal of Abu l Fadl's account presents a clear picture of the political situation prevailing in the vicinity of the findspot of our record. Viewed in this perspective the desire of the Mughal prince to have a permanent headquarters there can be properly understood.

The record, it may be pointed out, is the only source of information which refers to the prince's design of establishing a capital at Shahgadh. It is very likely, as suggested above, that the object of construction referred to in the epigraph was a fort which may have been designated Shahgadh—Shah means a king and gadh a fort—after the prince himself in the same way as another town in Berar viz Shahpur situated in the neighbourhood of Balapur was named after him <sup>2</sup>.

As to Wafadar Khan, the builder, he seems to have been an official of quite some importance. According to Abu l Fadl's account, he was present in most of the battles or skirmishes that took place in Berar between the Mughals and the Deccanīs <sup>3</sup>.

The text has been deciphered as under —

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

(۱) [الله اکبر]

(۲)

حرف دکن کرد سلطان مرا [د]

افغانه آن شاه کسور سنان

(۳)

که نا اری صبط و نسحر ملک

سود نای نحت دکن اس مکان

(۴)

<sup>1</sup> For details please refer to Abu l Fadl *op cit* pp 701 03 711 15 717 19 etc. Dr Radhey Shyam in *The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar* (Delhi 1966) pp 225 404 etc. also describes these engagements but his account suffers from a few mistakes. For example he gives 14th March 1596 as the date of the conclusion of the treaty while the date quoted by Abu l Fadl corresponds to 21st February of the same year. Similarly the skirmish between Ain Khan and the Mughal forces (Abu l Fadl *op cit* p 711) is not mentioned by him.

<sup>2</sup> Abu l Fadl *op cit* p 703. For an inscription of the Prince at Shahpur, see *Epigraphia Indica Arabica and Persian Supplement* (EIAPS) 1963 p 52 (pl XV c).

<sup>3</sup> Abu l Fadl *op cit* pp 715 718.

حو ناریج او حسین ار لدر عمل  
 نگما نیای وفادار حال  
 (۵) [مطاد] ی سه ۴۲ الهی

## TRANSLATION

(1) [Allāh is] great

(2)

When Sultān Murād conquered the Deccan, through the good fortune of that kingdom-conquering king (i.e. Akbar),

(3)

so that for the sake of administration and subjugation of the region (lit. country), this place may become the capital of Deccan

(4)

When I sought its date from the Old Man of Wisdom, he said, "*It is the edifice (built) by Wafādār Khān*"

(5)

corresponding to Ilīhī year 42

The chronogram contained in the last hemistich yields the year A H 1006. Since the corresponding Ilīhī year 42, as quoted in the text, lasted from 2nd Sha'bān 1005 to 12th Sha'bān 1006, the construction must have taken place between 1st Muharram and 12th Sha'bān 1006, i.e. some time during 4th August 1597-10th March 1598.

## Jahāngīr

## II INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1032, FROM NANDURBĀR

The slab bearing the second inscription, which pertains to Jahāngīr's reign, is fixed on the wall of the verandah of the Rang-Mahal situated in the enclosure of the Dargāh of Sayyid 'Alāu'd Dīn<sup>1</sup> at Nandurbār, in West Khāndesh district. It measures 60 by 30 cms. and contains four lines of writing in Persian. The epigraph purports to record the construction of a building by an official, namely Lutfu'llāh, son of Khusraw Khān of Thattā, with the *alias* Bahā'ī Khān, by which most probably the title is meant. The building is stated to have been completed on the 16th September 1623. However, exactly which building is referred to here is not clear. If the epigraph is *in situ*, it might mean that it was the Dargāh of the saint, of which the Rang-Mahal forms an integral part.

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1963-64 No. D 176. This epigraph was copied by Shri S. A. Rahim, then Epigraphical Assistant.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of Nandurbār and its history, etc. please see *Bombay Gazetteer* vol. XII (Bombay, 1880), pp. 457-59.

The builder, Luṭfu'llāh Bahā'ī Khān, was a notable grandee of Jahāngīr's reign. His father Khusraw Khān better known as Khusraw Khān Chugis was the hereditary prime minister of the Sind ruler Mīrzā Jānī Baig, and enjoyed the reputation of being a great statesman of his time.<sup>1</sup> He was mainly responsible for the stout resistance offered by the Sind ruler to Akbar's general Khān i-Khānān. He continued to play a prominent part, at times of king-maker in Sind affairs even after its subjugation by the Mughals. He lies buried at Ajmer, where he had died as recorded in his epitaph<sup>2</sup> in A H 1023 (1614 15 A D) about a year after he was brought there to the court by 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Ma'mūrī, under Jahāngīr's orders.<sup>3</sup>

As regards the son Luṭfu'llāh unfortunately no definite information is available, except that in some circles the death of Mīrzā Ghāzī was attributed to his machinations.<sup>4</sup> Jahāngīr mentions one Luṭfu'llāh as having been granted a *mansab* in April 1620 and an increase two years later. He is also stated to have been among the noblemen and officials who accompanied Prince Parvīz to chastise the rebellious Shāh Jahān in Deccan.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, the emperor gives no details beyond mentioning his name, and therefore it is difficult to say for certain if he is identical with Bahā'ī Khān though the chances that they are identical are quite high. Luṭfu'llāh may have continued to serve in Deccan till or even after the date of this record. It appears from a statement of Abu'l Fadl that the title Bahā'ī Khān was also enjoyed by Khusraw Khān.<sup>6</sup> If so, on his death, it must have been conferred upon the son.

The text of the epigraph is executed in *Nasta'liq* characters of no particular merit, and has been read as under —

## TEXT

## Plate VIII (b)

(۱) در زمان خلافت جهانگیر ناساه عاری  
 (۲) بنده درگاه لطف الله عرف بهائيجان ابن  
 (۳) خسرو خان نسبی ابن عمارت را بنا نهاده  
 (۴) در تاریخ عره ماه دالحجه سنه ۱۰۳۲ بانمام رسانید

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the caliphate of the victorious king Jahāngīr,

(2) the slave of the court, Luṭfu'llāh *alias* Bahā'ī Khān, son of

<sup>1</sup> For details, see Abu'l Fadl, *op cit*, pp 602 03, 608, 609, 634. Jahāngīr *Tuzuk i Jahangīrī* (Aligarh, 1864), pp. 109 11, 304, 358. Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'athuru l Umarā*, vol III (Calcutta, 1891), pp 309, 346 47, 438, 486, H Blochmann, Eng tr *Ā'in i Akbarī* (Calcutta, 1927), p 392.

<sup>2</sup> Jahāngīr, *op cit*, p 358, Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op cit*, p 486.

<sup>3</sup> *EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, p 51 (& fn 2).

<sup>4</sup> Jahāngīr, *op cit*, pp 110, 117.

<sup>5</sup> Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op cit*, p 347 who is the only authority to mention this, places the Mīrzā's death in A H 1018, but the latter is stated to have died in A H 1021 (Jahāngīr, *op cit*, p 109, Blochmann, *op cit*, p 392).

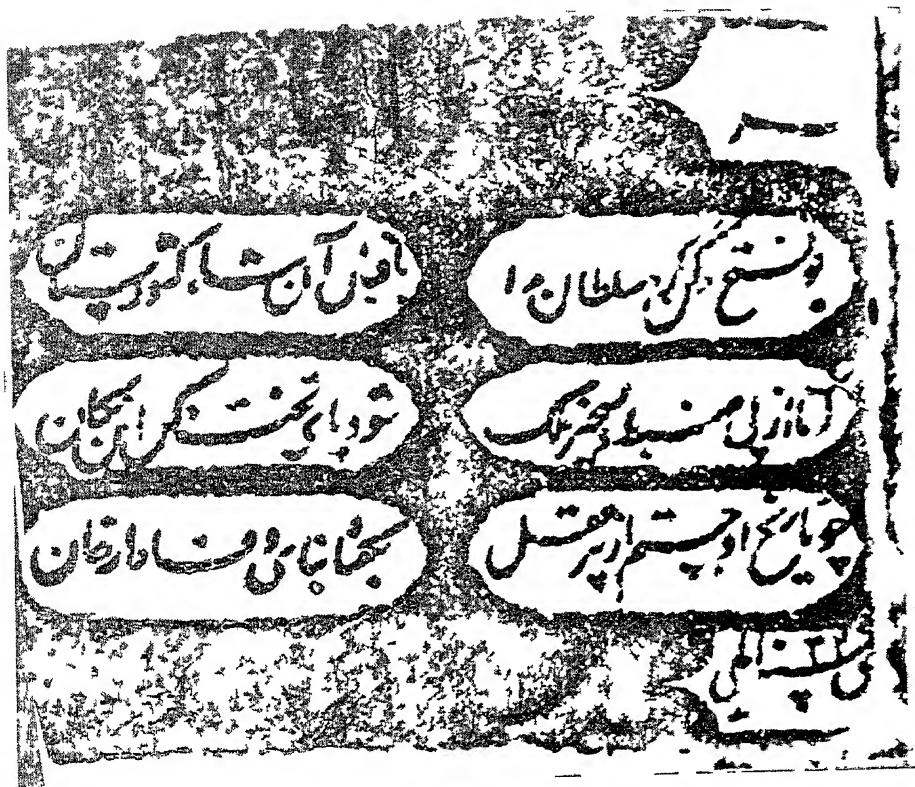
<sup>6</sup> Jahāngīr, *op cit*, pp 304, 358, 361.

<sup>7</sup> Abu'l Fadl, *op cit*, p 684.

MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAHĀRĀSHTRA

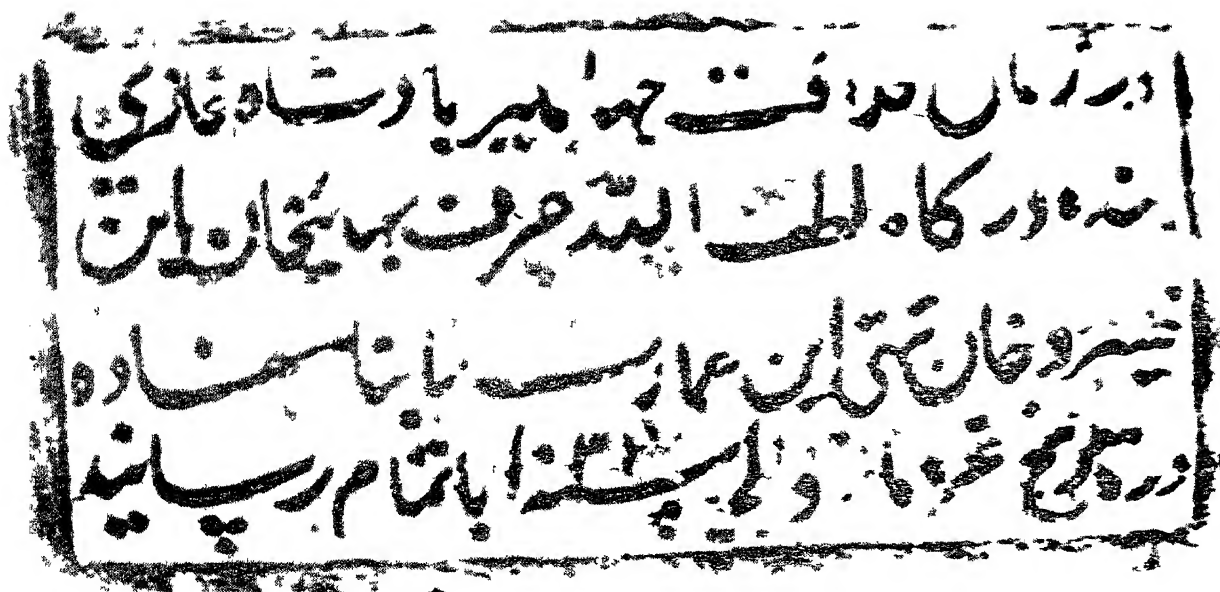
( PLATES VIII—XII )

(a) Inscription of Akbar dated A H 1006 from Shāhgadh (p 30)



SCALE 15

(b) Record of Jahāngīr, dated A H 1032 from Nandurbār (p 32)





- (3) Khusiaw Khān Taithī (i.e. of Thattā), having laid the foundation of this building,  
 (4) brought (it) to completion on the date, the 1st of Dhu'l-Hijja, year 1032 (16th September 1623)

### III —INSCRIPTION DATED A H 1032, FROM JAFARĀBĀD

The second inscription of Jahāngīr, noticed here for the first time, was found by me. It is engraved on a loose slab kept near the Bich-kī-Masjīd situated inside the fort at Jafarābād, a Tāluk-headquarters in Aurangābād district<sup>1</sup>. This town situated in 20° 14'E, 76° 5'N, on the bank of Khadak-Purnā river, enjoyed considerable importance in the Mughal period on account of its strategic position. Originally named Zafarnagar when newly founded in Jahāngīr's time, it had the distinction of being a mint-town in his reign as well as in that of Shāh Jahān<sup>2</sup>.

The epigraphical tablet measuring 114 by 76 cms is reported to have originally belonged to the Delhi gate of the said fort, the latter is now in a dilapidated condition, but the gate is still standing, and the place where the tablet was originally fixed can be easily made out. The text comprises five lines of writing in Persian inscribed in relief in beautiful *Nasta'liq* characters. The letters are slightly damaged, but the text is almost completely intact.

The text does not contain the usual phrase denoting the word 'constructed' nor the object of construction, but it is obvious that the construction of the gate on which it originally appeared, if not of the fort itself, is intended. This construction is stated to have been carried out during the reign of Jahāngīr Bādshāh Ghāzī at the instance of His Excellency the world conquering (prince) Shāh Jahān under the overall supervision of an official Ibrāhīm Husam, entitled 'Aqīdat Khān who held the post of Bakhshī, in 1622-23. The work is further reported to have been executed by the mason Yāsīn Jaunpūrī, while Khālī a't Tabrīzī is mentioned at the end of the text as the calligrapher. A word or two in the beginning of the last line are too indistinct to be perfectly legible.

The epigraph thus provides an important piece of information about the history of the town. Evidently 'Aqīdat Khān was associated with the administration of the town and perhaps of its neighbouring parts also. As Zafarnagar is stated to have been founded in about the middle of 1621,<sup>4</sup> it is not unlikely that he was also connected with the foundation of the town. Anyway, it is rather surprising that we get only passing references to him in historical works. He was sent from Ajmer by emperor Jahāngīr in the beginning of 1614 to Deccan, to reconcile the differences which had arisen between Khān i-A'zam 'Azīz Koka and his ward Prince Parvīz. He was appointed Bakhshī of Deccan in October 1617 and almost a year later, on the recommendations of Khān i-Khānān, he was granted the *mansab* of 1000 personal and 200 horse. A couple of months later he received the title 'Aqīdat Khān. In June 1622, his rank was increased to that of 1200 personal and 300 horse. He fought, along with the 'Adil Shāhī general against Malik 'Ambar under royal orders, but was taken captive and sent to Daulatābād in June 1625.<sup>5</sup>

Thus it was during his tenure as Bakhshī of Deccan that the construction, very probably of the fort of Zafarnagar as stated above, was completed under his supervision in 1622-23. But

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1966-67, No D, 152

<sup>2</sup> For a scholarly note by Professor S H Hodiwālā about the identification of Zafarnagar with Jafarābād, see *Numismatic Supplement*, No XXXIV (1920), p 348

<sup>3</sup> C R Singhal, *Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India*, (Bombay, 1953), pp 35-36

<sup>4</sup> Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Amal i Ṣāliḥ*, vol I (Calcutta, 1923), p 159. Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op cit*, vol II (Calcutta, 1890), pp 191-92

<sup>5</sup> For these and other details including a few despatches sent by him from Deccan to the royal court, please see Jahāngīr, *op cit*, pp 126, 199, 246, 258, 344, 374, 380, 391, 392. Abu'l Hasan, *Jahāngīr Nāma* (Lahore, 1898), pp 70, 216, 218



Shāh Jahān

## IV INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1040, FROM THE SAME PLACE

The first inscription of Shāh Jahān and the fourth of the group is carved on a slab measuring 50 by 39 cms, which is fixed above the arch over the steps of a well called Lambi-Bāro, situated near the above-mentioned Bich kī-Masjid in the Jafarābād fort <sup>1</sup> It seems to have been first mentioned in the gazetteer of the Aurangābād district, and its brief notice given there was the subject of comments by Professor S H Hodiwālā <sup>2</sup> But the comments of the learned Professor do not appear to be well founded, as will be presently seen

This brief epigraph consists of seven short lines of writing in ordinary *Asta'liq* characters and records the completion of a step-well constructed by the orders of Shāh Jahān, the Sāhib-i-Qirān (lit Lord of Conjunction), and under the supervision of Mustafā Khān Turkmān in 1630

This Mustafā Khān Turkmān was originally a grandee of Jahāngir's court. He seems to have served at Panthan from which he was transferred in 1623, and was later on sent along with other nobles to join the Ādil Shāhī general against Malik 'Ambar. Under Jahāngir he rose to hold the rank of 2000 personal and 1400 horse. On Shāh Jahān's accession, his rank was increased to 3000 personal and 2000 horse, and he was also awarded the title of Turkmān Khān. In April-May 1630, he was honoured with the privilege of drum and was sent to Deccan <sup>4</sup> He is stated to have died in A H 1043 (1633-34 A D), in harness, as Thānadār of Zafarnagar <sup>5</sup> The date of his appointment to this post is not recorded, except that he is mentioned to have held this appointment in the 6th regnal year of Shāh Jahān (4th December 1632-22nd November 1633) <sup>6</sup> Now the present record, which indirectly proves his association in official capacity in the third regnal year (6th January 1630-25th December 1630), tends to suggest that when he was sent to Deccan in April-May 1630, he was sent to Zafarnagar only, which must have been as its Thānadār. Incidentally, in 1633-34 he was directed to escort a convoy of provisions from Zafarnagar to Daulatābād which was then being besieged by Mahābat Khān.

The text of the epigraph reads as follows —

## TEXT

## Plate IX (b)

(۱) اللہ اکبر

(۲) فرمان سہا حیا

(۳) صاحبزادان ناہتمام

(۴) مصطفیٰ خان ترکمان

(۵) سنہ ۳ حلوس مطابق

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1966-67, No D, 154

<sup>2</sup> *Aurangabad District Gazetteer* (Bombay, 1884), p 847

<sup>3</sup> *Numismatic Supplement*, No XXXIV (1920) pp 240-49

<sup>4</sup> 'Abdu'l Hamid Lāhori, *Bādshāh Nama*, vol I (Calcutta, 1867), pt 1, pp 121, 300, Muhammad Sālih, *op cit*, vol II (Calcutta, 1927), pp 267, 371 Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op cit*, vol III, p 385

<sup>5</sup> 'Abdu'l Hamid, *op cit*, vol I pt II, p 298, Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op cit*

<sup>6</sup> 'Abdu'l Hamid, *op cit*, vol I, pt I pp 505-06, Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op cit*



pediment remains, and on this the only sculptures visible are a *linga* on a stand with a squatting bull to the proper right. The text below this is contained in three compartments, all of them about 2 ft wide. The first of these, comprising ll 1-5, is about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in high, the second, ll 6-8, some 4 ft 3 in high, and the third, ll 69-70, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in high. —The character is a fair Kanarese of the middle of the twelfth century, with letters varying in height from  $\frac{1}{8}$  in to  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. —Apart from the Sanskrit stanzas Nos 1, 2, 15, and 26, the language is Old Kanarese. The ancient *l* has been changed to *r* in *kutt*= (l 10) and *negaraddam* (l 42), and elsewhere to *l*. The *upadhmāniya* appears in *payahpura* (l 25) and *Vāchahpati* (l 54). *P* is changed to *h* only in the names *Tailaha* (ll 22, 32, 48, 56, 58) and *Hānumgall*= (ll 65-6, elsewhere *Pānumgallu*). Among the words of lexical interest we may notice *Chaluki* (l 5), *jagadalu* (l 6), *nirvādhe* (l 15), *kamdarisu* (l 27), *kanmayisu* (l 27), *ullēkha* in the sense of “high-flashing” (l 57), *gadduge* (l 58),<sup>1</sup> and *kandarane*, “carving” (l 70).

The record chronicles three endowments, and was redacted in its present form on the occasion of the last of these. The first part, after a prelude (vv 1-4), opens with a series of stanzas (ll 6-10) praising in succession Permādi-Rā[ja], by whom Vikramāditya VI seems to be meant (v 5), Tailapa (ie Āhavamalla Nūrmadi Taila II), Satyāsraya, and Vikrama, ie Vikramāditya VI (v 6), and Vikramāditya's successes over the Chōlas, Nēpalas, and Gūrjaras are glorified (v 7). Then comes the formula referring the grant to Vikramāditya's reign (ll 10-12), followed by verses giving the lineage of his feudatory the Kādamba Maha Mandalēsvara Taila [II] or Tailaha dēvarasa of Hāngal (ll 12-17). He was the son of Śānta (Śāntivarman) and Śrīyā-dēvi, and Śānta had four brothers, named Taila [II], Māvuli, Chōki, and Bikki (ie Vikrama).<sup>2</sup> After this comes a prose passage giving to Tailaha all the standing titles of his family and referring the grant to his reign (ll 17-24). Then we have some verses in praise of the town of Purikara, ie Lakshmīśvar (ll 24-26), its sanctuary of Mahā-svayambhu-Somanātha, or Dakṣiṇa Sōma, ‘the Somanath of the South’ (ll 26-28), and the prior of that establishment, Mahēndrasōma Pandita dēva<sup>3</sup> (ll 28-30), and then comes an interesting prose paragraph (ll 30-34) relating how the latter paid a visit to the Maha Mandalēsvara Tailaha-dēva (the above mentioned Kādamba Taila II) at Pānūngallu, and gave him his blessing and gift of the Śaiva eucharist, in return for which he received from Tailaha the gift of the town of Kallavana for the maintenance of his temple (ll 34-38). A formal ending of the usual kind then brings the first section to a conclusion (ll 38-40).

The second part then opens with a verse in praise of the Chālukya Taila II, who in allusion to his title *Nūrmadi Taila*, “a hundred times a Taila,” is here called *Irmadi padīrmadi nūrmadi-Taila*, “twice, twelve times, a hundred times a Taila” (ll 41-42), and it then formally refers itself to his reign (ll 42-44). We are then introduced in three verses to another Kādamba prince, Māvuli-Taila, also called Tailaha dēva and simply Taila, a grandson of the above-mentioned Tailaha II, he was reigning at Nareyangallu (ll 44-48), and was a worshipper of Sōmanatha (ll 48-49). He had a feudatory, the Maha Mandalesvara Vira Pāndya,<sup>4</sup> who at the time was holding the *manneya* or seignior of the Puligere nād (ll 49-51), while the General Mahādēvarasa was governing the same district and the Banavase country in the office of

<sup>1</sup> Cf the phrase in a Sogal inscription ll 11-12, *snanam maduvargge gaddugeya niram*. It seems to be the same as the Kashmiri *gōḍa*, “aspersion,” ‘ceremonial sprinkling’.

<sup>2</sup> On this pedigree see *Dyn Ka at Dist* pp 559 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Among other titles he is described as *Dasavarman* *raja nyukta* (l 29), ‘employed in the *raja* of Dasavarman’. Properly *raja* means a cattle stall here perhaps it signifies a royal court. Who Dasavarman was is a mystery.

<sup>4</sup> On Vira Pāndya, who also appears as ruling at this time in Uchchangū-durga over Nolambavadi see *Dyn Kanar Distr*, pp 456, 458. *PSOCI*, Nos 116, 117, 139, *Mysore Inscri*, Nos 8, 9, 32, 34, 35. He was father of Vijaya Pāndya.

(٥) ابراهيم الموسوي ابن فلعه عظيم الشأن و مقام امن و امان  
(٦) بالامام رسد بنارح عره سهر سعنالمعظم سده و ~

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the days of the government and mighty awe of His Majesty the king, the asylum of the world,

(2) the possessor of Solomon like audience hall, the sun of the firmament of sovereignty and victory, the star of

(3) the sign of magnificence and monarchy, the Lord of (auspicious) Conjunction, Shihābu d Dīn

(4) Muhammad Shih Jāhān Bīdshāh Ghāzi, through the efforts and under the supervision of the humble slave,

(5) Ibrāhīm al Mūsawī, this magnificent fort and abode of peace and security

(6) was completed on the date, the 1st of the month of the magnificent Shā'ban of the year 1049 (17th November 1639)

## VI INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1056, FROM AUSĀ

The third inscription belonging to Shih Jāhān's reign is fixed on the west wall of a rectangular well called Madīn Bīolī at Ausī in Osmānabīd district<sup>1</sup>. The inscriptional slab measuring 43 by 34 cms contains a short text, inscribed in four lines in ordinary *Nasta'liq* characters, which records the construction of a step well, evidently the one on which it appears by Uzbek Khān in 1646-47 in the reign of the emperor

This epigraph is also a memento of a Mughal official who had seen a long period of service in the Deccan. Uzbek Khān, whose name was Nadhar Baig, was initially in the service of 'Abdu'llah Khān Fīrūz Jang and had joined Shāh Jāhān when the latter had encamped at Junnar in 1623. After Shāh Jāhān's accession to the throne he was included among the *mansabdārs* detailed for service in the Deccan under Mahābat Khān, and was personally recommended by the king. It is only in the account of his being sent, in about January 1636, with the contingent under the command of Khān Zamān to subjugate Udgir and Ausā that we find the title Uzbek Khān used for him. This would mean that the title was conferred upon him some time before this date.

After rendering service in some expedition or the other, he attained in the beginning of 1641 the rank of 2000 personal and 2000 horse and was put in charge of the fort of Ausā. He was invested with the honour of carrying a banner on the 16th November 1642. Likewise, on the 30th March 1645, five hundred horse out of his two thousand was raised to two to three horse status. Thus he continued to hold with occasional increase in rank as well as recognition until the 3rd October 1654, when on account of old age, he was replaced by Khawāja Barkhūrdār. He was

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE* 1966-67, No. D 176. Some more inscriptions from this place have been listed in *ibid* Nos. D 169-75, 177-79.

<sup>2</sup> Abdul Hamid *op cit* vol. I, pt. II, p. 136. Muhammad Sālih, *op cit*, vol. II, p. 155. Shah Nawaz Khan *op cit* vol. I (Calcutta 1888) p. 196.

summoned to the royal court and was sent to Ahmadābād in Gujarat, where he died in 1656.<sup>1</sup> There are some interesting references to his old age, failing eye-sight as well as lack of proper administration in the letters of Prince Aurangzeb sent to Shāh Jahān as viceroy to Deccan.<sup>2</sup> In one of the letters, the *pargana* of Bālkondā is stated to have been included in his *tawqūl*.<sup>3</sup>

The text reads as under —

#### TEXT

#### Plate IX(c)

(۱) سنہ ۱۰۵۶

(۲) در عہد صاحب فراں ثا

(۳) عارے

(۴) صاحب اس ناوی را اورنگ خان

#### TRANSLATION

(1) Year (A H ) 1056 (1646 47 A D )

(2) In the reign of Sāhib-i-Qirān-i Thānī (lit the second Lord of Conjunction, i.e. Shāh Jahān)

(3 4) Ghāzī, this step-well was constructed by Uzbek Khān

#### Aurangzeb

#### VII INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1074, FROM THE SAME PLACE

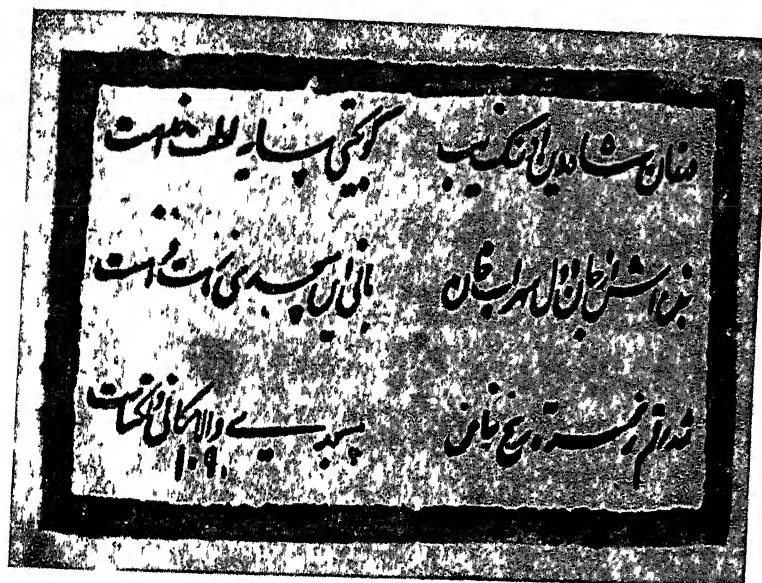
The first inscription in this set of the records belonging to the reign of Aurangzeb is fragmentary. The rectangular tablet measuring 50 by 36 cms which is built up into the west wall of the Reservoir (*haud*)—what seems to have been originally a step-well—situated near the house of Shri 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Patel at Ausā,<sup>4</sup> has lost some portion in the upper half. As a result, the last few words in the first and second lines and a word in the last line are lost, but fortunately, the purport is not affected. The six-line text consisting of an equal number of Persian verses is inscribed in *Nasta'liq* characters of excellent quality and records that in the reign of emperor Aurangzeb, one Rindak, a member of the Naqshbandī order, constructed the well for public use in 1663-64. It also mentions Khawāja Barkhūrdār in the second line, but the writing in the second part of the line having disappeared as stated above, the context in which he is mentioned is not clear from the surviving text. But since his name occurs after the mention of the emperor in the first line, the missing text must have referred to his having held the charge of Ausā, as is also known from

<sup>1</sup> Abdul Hamid, *op cit*, vol I pt 1 pp 138, 225, 307 *ibid*, vol II (Calcutta, 1868), pp 302 417, 726  
Muhammad Sāhib, *op cit*, vol II, pp 336, 427, *ibid*, vol III (Calcutta, 1939), p 194, Shah Nawāz Khān, *op cit*, vol I, p 196

<sup>2</sup> Sayyid Najib Ashraf Nadwi, ed. *Ruq'at-i 'Ālamgīr* vol I (Āzamgarh 1929), pp 119, 127, 135,  
<sup>3</sup> *ibid*, p 135

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE* 1966 67, No D, 177

(a) Aurangzeb's record, dated A H 1091, from Ausā (p 41)



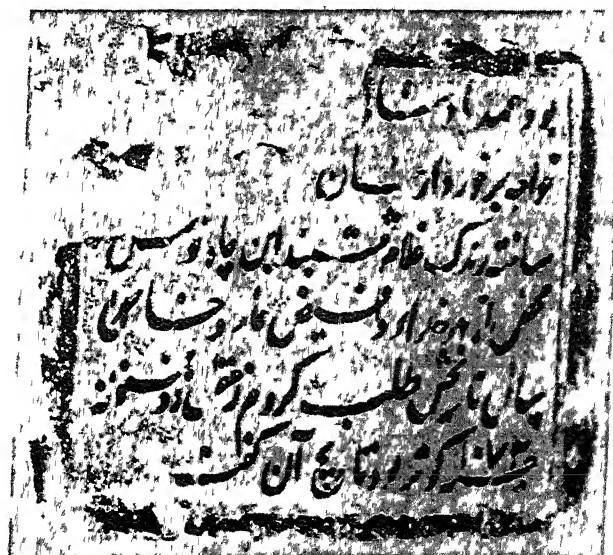
SCALE 19

(b) Shah Jahān's record, dated A H 1049, from Shāhgaḥ (p 36)



SCALE , 18

(c) Epigraph of Aurangzeb, dated A. H. 1074, same place (p 39)



SCALE 17



Of the persons mentioned in the epigraph, Khawāja Barkhūrdār, cannot be specifically identified from the scanty references available in historical works. It is difficult to say if he is identical with Khawāja Barkhūrdār, a brother of the famous 'Abdu'llāh Khān Firūz Jang. The latter was awarded in July 1608 the title of Bahādur Khān and increase in rank in February 1610,<sup>1</sup> while the present text does not use any such title, moreover, he would be quite advanced in years by the time our record was set up in 1663-64. We have also Khawāja Barkhūrdār the son in law of Khān i-Khānān Mahābat Khān who was granted a rank of 1500 personal and 800 horse.<sup>2</sup> It is probably the same Khawāja Barkhūrdār who was despatched, along with others, to chastise Shāhjī in January 1636.<sup>3</sup> But whether he lived till the date of our record to be identical with Khawāja Barkhūrdār mentioned therein, it is again difficult to say.

But our Barkhurdār Khān may perhaps be identified, with some amount of certainty, with Barkhūrdār Baig who is mentioned in Aurangzeb's inscription at Bidar, dated 1679-80. Of course, the latter is mentioned with the honorific name Baig and not Khān, but it has been found that not very strict discrimination is exercised in the use of the words Baig and Khān.

We have, however, definite information about Khawāja Barkhūrdār's career as Thānadār of Ausā. He is stated to have succeeded Uzbek Khān in the *thānadārī* on 3rd October 1654 with the rank of 2000 personal and 2000 horse.<sup>4</sup> Our record which incidentally indicates that the title of Khān was conferred upon Khawāja Barkhūrdār, provides a later date in his career. Evidently, he continued to hold the *gal'adārī* of Ausā till 1663-64 in which the well was constructed.

About the other person, the builder, namely Rindak, who is described as the 'slave of Naqsh-band', I have not been able to find any information.

The epigraph has been deciphered as follows —

## TEXT

## Plate X(c)

(۱) بود عهد نادشا [دین پناه اورنگ رب]

(۲) حواحه برحوردار حان

(۳) ساحنه رندک علام بنسبتد ابن حاه حوس

(۴) محص از بهر حذاء و فیض عام و حاص را

(۵) سال نارنجش طلب کردم رعقل دومون

(۶) حسمه کوثر بود نارنج آن گهنا [مرا]

۱۰۷۴

<sup>1</sup> Jahāngīr, *op cit*, pp 69, 78

<sup>2</sup> Abdu'l Hamīd *op cit*, vol I, pt II, p 309, *ibid*, vol II, p 735

<sup>3</sup> Abdu'l Hamīd, *op cit*, p 136. Muhammad Sālih, *op cit*, vol II, p 155

<sup>4</sup> Muhammad Sālih, *op cit*, vol III, p 194. Some more details are contained in the letters of Aurangzeb, despatched by him when viceroy of Deccan to Shāh Jahān. From these it is clear that Aurangzeb had a good opinion of Khawāja Barkhūrdār, as a matter of fact, the Ausā assignment was given to him at the suggestion of Aurangzeb who had, subsequently, proposed for the grant of standard and title. See Nadvi *op cit*, pp 119, 127, 159, 161.

<sup>5</sup> The exact significance of this is not clear

## TRANSLATION

(1) It was in the reign of the king [Aurangzeb, the support of the religion]

(2) Khawāja Barkhūrdār Khān

(3) When Rindak, the slave of the Naqshband (a follower of the Naqshbandi order?) constructed this excellent well,

(4) solely for the sake of God and for the benefit of the high and the low

(5) I sought its date from Wisdom, the possessor of many skills

(6) It told me, ' Its date is the *spring of Kaūthar*'<sup>1</sup> (A H ) 1071 (1663 64 A D )

## VIII INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1091, ALSO FROM AUSĀ

The next record of Aurangzeb also comes from Ausā. The inscriptional slab measuring 56 by 32 cms, and fixed above the central *mihāb* of the Jīmī -Masjid,<sup>2</sup> contains a three-line text in Persian verse which is carved in relief in fairly good *Nasta'liq* letters. It records the construction of a mosque in 1680-81, during the reign of emperor Aurangzeb by an official Suhrib Khān who is described in the text as the emperor's devoted servant. The date of the construction is given both in figure as well as in the chronogram contained in the last line and therefore, it is rather surprising that it is stated to be A H 1071 (1660 A D ) in the report of the Archaeological department of the Hyderabad State.<sup>3</sup>

There are two more short inscriptions on the mosque—one of them, engraved on a pillar of the east wall, mentions Sayyid Bābū as one who was in charge (Dārūghī) of the construction.<sup>4</sup>

Though details about the builder Suhrib Khān are not forthcoming, he is not entirely unknown to contemporary chroniclers. In December 1658, he was the Faujdār of Bijāpur in Berār. Here he continued till May 1665, when he was transferred to Udgūr as Qalādār, *i.e.* Bahram Khān.<sup>5</sup> It is probable that he replaced Khawāja Barkhūrdār the Qalādār of Ausā (see p. 39, *supra*) some time after this date. Other references to him indicate that he was an important official in the artillery department. In January 1685, we find him carrying two guns to Bijāpur.<sup>6</sup> As a matter of fact, about ten months later, he was appointed Mīr Tūzuk *vice* Salīb Khān.<sup>7</sup> Thereafter, he was deputy to the Chief of the Artillery Salībāt Khān.<sup>8</sup> This was probably in August 1686, when he is reported to have received a robe of honour.<sup>9</sup> We hear of him last in May 1687 in connection with his recovery from wounds sustained in the battle of Bijāpur.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Name of a spring in Paradise

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE* 1966 67 No D 171. It was first noticed by Bashir'ud Din Ahmad, who published an eye reading in his *Waq'at-i Mamlakat-i Bijāpur* (Hyderabad 1915), pt III, p. 84. Its text was subsequently published (along with a brief description of the mosque) in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of Nizam's Dominions (RADN)* for the year 1933 34 at p. 2 and fn 1. The reading, in both cases, is not free from mistakes.

<sup>3</sup> *RADN* 1933 34 p. 2 and fn 1.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE* 1966 67, No. D, 169 70. *RADN* 1933 34 p. 2 fn 1.

<sup>5</sup> Muhammad Kāzīm *Alamgīr Nama* (Calcutta 1868), pp. 454-885.

<sup>6</sup> Saqī Mustafid Khān *Mas'athir-i 'Ālamgīr* (Calcutta, 1871), pp. 251-52.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 271.

<sup>8</sup> Shāh Nawāz Khān *op cit.* vol. II p. 743.

<sup>9</sup> Mustafid Khān *op cit.* p. 278.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 296.

The text of the record has been read as follows —

## TEXT

## Plate X(a)

- (۱) در زمان شاه دلی اورنگزیب  
کو گنجی مائے لطیف حداس  
(۲) بنده اس ارحان و دل سمرات حان  
نای ان مسجدی رهت فراس  
(۳) سد رفیع [ا]ر لمر نارنج بناس  
مسجدی والا دکانی دلکساس

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of the religion supporting king Aurangzeb, who is the shadow of the kindness of God, in the world,

(2) Suhraḥ Khān, his servant from soul and heart, is the builder of this pleasant mosque

(3) For the date of its construction, it was inscribed *The lofty mosque is an exhilarating place* (A H ) 1091 (1680-81 A D )

## IX INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1106, FROM SHĀHGADH

The slab bearing this inscription appears on the Pattan Gate of the city-wall of Shāhgadh<sup>1</sup> and measures 62 by 43 cms. It is inscribed with a five line text in Persian, the style of writing being *Nasta'liq* of a fairly good order. The writing is slightly affected through effects of weather and passage of time and as a result, a word or two denoting the object of construction in the beginning of line 4 are obliterated. But since there is little doubt that the tablet is *in situ*, the object of construction must have been the Gate. However, according to the extant text, some place was populated or founded in 1695, during the 39th regnal year of emperor Aurangzeb by Hāshim, when his father Sayyid Khwāja Zafarullāh Naqshbandī was the Faujdār of the place. Very probably what is intended is the re population of the town or its quarter somewhere in the vicinity of the Gate.

The importance of the epigraph lies in the fact that it provides the name of an unknown official of Aurangzeb, which is an important information useful for the local history. No information is traceable in historical works about either the father or the son.

The text has been deciphered as follows —

## TEXT

## Plate XI(c)

- (۱) در عصر نادرشاه دلی بنام محمد اورنگزیب  
(۲) نادرشاه عالمگیر عاری در عمل فوجداری

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1966 67, No D 148



- (۳) سناد دناه حواحه طهر الله بمشيدى  
 (۴) هاسم حلف حواحه معزالیه آباد ساحب  
 (۵) سده نكهار نكصد و سس هجرى مطابق سى و ده حلوس والا

## TRANSLATION

- (1) In the reign of the religion supporting king Muhammad Aurangzeb  
 (2) Bādshāh 'Ālamgīr Ghāzī, during the time of the *faujdārī* of  
 (3) the asylum of chiefship (i.e. Sayyid) Khwāja Zafarullāh Naqshbandi  
 (4) (the place) was populated by Hāshim son of the aforesaid Khwāja,  
 (5) in the year one thousand (and) one hundred and six after the Migration, corresponding to thirtyninth year of the exalted accession (29th regnal year, A.H. 1106–1695 A.D.)

## X INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1109, FROM DHĀRUR

The fourth epigraph of Aurangzeb's reign is from a well situated near the Nūr Bāgh at Dhaur in Bir district<sup>1</sup>. The inscriptional slab measures 46 by 32 cms. and contains a text of four lines in Persian, carved in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters of no particular merit. The record states that in the reign of the emperor, a spring (*hashma*) i.e. a well was constructed by Murād son of Muhammad Kabīr in 1697, during the 41st regnal year. Nothing is known about the builder who may have been an official.

The text has been read as under —

## TEXT

## Plate XI(b)

- (۱) دور حصار اورنگزيب عالم گير  
 (۲) ابن حشمة بنا کرد مراد ابن محمد كنير  
 (۳) در سده چهل و نك ارحلوس مقدس معلی  
 (۴) مطابق سده نكهار نكصد و ده هجرى

## TRANSLATION

- (1) In the reign of His Majesty Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr,  
 (2) this spring (i.e. well) was constructed by Murād, son of Muhammad Kabīr,

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D 194

(3) in the forty-first year after the sublime and exalted accession,

(4) corresponding to the year one thousand one hundred and nine from the Migration (Regnal Year 41, A H 1109=1697 A D)

# XI INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1115, FROM GONDEGĀON

The tablet bearing the fifth epigraph of Aurangzeb is fixed on the south wall of the Jāmi'-Masjid at Gondegāon in Nāsik district<sup>1</sup>. Measuring 32 by 46 cms, it contains a Persian record carved in relief in six lines in *Nasta'liq* characters of a fairly good quality. The epigraph states that in the reign of the emperor, one Sayyid Majhle, son of Sayyid Haidar, the Muqaddim of the village of *Shāhpūr* alias Gondegāon in the *pargana* Wan at the time when he was the Faujdār of *pargana* Chāndor, constructed over a period of twelve years, a *Gadhī*, a *Havelī*, gardens, the mosque (on which the epigraph occurs) and a well. The whole project was completed on the 13th August 1703.

This record is quite interesting. Apart from the fact that it has preserved unto us the name of a local Mughal official, about whom nothing was known from any other source, not without interest is the piece of information that Gondegāon was designated as Shāhpur, though when and by whom it was so called is not known. To what extent did the new designation gain currency can only be judged when official records and archives are gone through. In any case, the epigraph is important for the new light it throws on local history.

The text has been deciphered as follows —

TFXT

## Plate XII(c)

(۱) یا حی یا قیوم

(۲) در عهد خلافت مرتب محی الدین محمد اورنگزیب امپاد عالمگیر بادشاه عاری

(۳) احقر الانام سند محلی ولد سند حیدر مقدم موضع ساهنور عرف گوندی گاون

(۴) عملہ برگتہ ون در زمانہ فوجداری برگتہ حاندور بعرض دوازده سال

(۵) گدھی و حویلی و ناعما و هدا مسجد و حاه بدرابه انعام داد

(۶) واقعه بتاریخ دهم (۹) ماه ربیع الثانی سنہ یکہزار و یکصد و نادرده هجری ص

TRANSLATION

(1) O Living! O Everlasting!

(2) In the reign having the status of Caliphate, of Muhyi'u'd-Din Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahādur 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh Ghāzī,

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE* 1961 62, No D 170,

(2) the humblest of men, Sayyid Majhle, son of Sayyid Hardar, Muqaddim of the village (*mauda*) of *Shāhpūr* alias Gondegāon,

(4) situated in the *paigana* Wan, in the time of (his) *farjdārī* of *Oh* indor, in the period of twelve years

(5) completed a *Gadhī*, a *Hareli*, gardens, this mosque and a well

(6) This took place on the 10th Rabi' II of the year one thousand and one hundred and fifteen from the Migration (of the Prophet), may peace of Allāh be on him (10th Rabi' II 1115=13th August 1702)

## XII ANOTHER INSCRIPTION OF THE SAME DATE FROM GONDEGĀON

One more record of Aurangzeb appears on the Jamī-Masjid of Gondegāon<sup>1</sup>. Carved on a slab measuring 33 by 48 cms which is fixed into the north wall, it is a short epigraph comprising six lines of writing of which the first two are in Arabic and the remaining four comprise two Persian couplets composed by one Ambiyā. The style of writing is *Asta liq* which appears to be in the same hand as the other inscription from the mosque studied above.

The epigraph does not contain any new information, as it also refers to the construction of the mosque as having taken place in 1703 during the reign of 'Ālamgīr. The date is afforded in figure as well as in a chronogram. The builder's name is given in the phrase containing the chronogram, viz *the construction of the mosque of Majhle*. The builder is the same as in the previous record. About Ambiyā, the composer, no information is available.

The text has been read as under —

### TEXT

#### Plate XII(b)

(۱) هو الاحد

(۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۳) بوی بنای مبارک بدور عالم گد

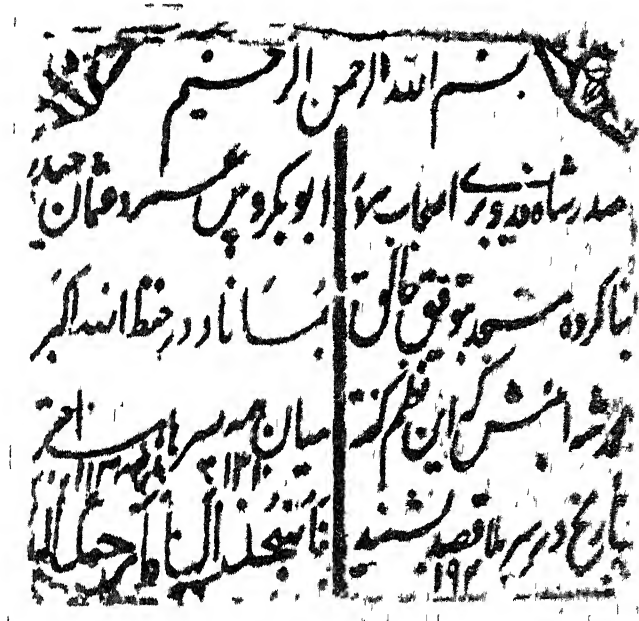
(۴) سده سرای مبارک ساه یور نعمد

(۵) ددار حانه قدسی ناماء آمد

(۶) بنای مسجد محمادی گورحی تقدیر

۱۱۱۵

(a) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A H 1116, from Bīr (p 47)



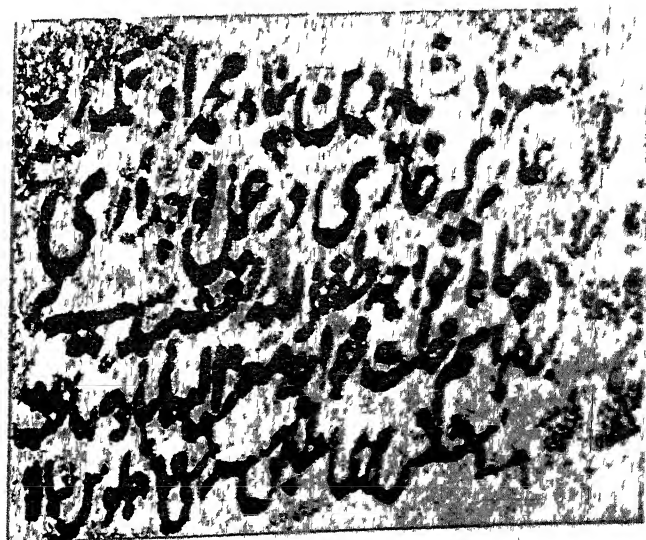
SCALE 11

(b) Epigraph of the same king, dated A H 1109, from Dhārur (p 42)



SCALE 19

(c) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A H. 1106, from Shāhgadh (p 41)



SCALE 14



TRANSLATION

- (1) He is the One
- (2) In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Beneficent
- (3) Blessed edifices are being constructed in the reign of Ālamgīr
- (4) The abode of the Blessed (i.e. the Mosque) was built at Shāhpūr
- (5) (For its date), a voice from the celestial abode came to Ambiyā (saying),
- (6) Say that *the construction of the mosque of Majhle* (was) destined by God" (A H ) 1115 (1703 A D )

XIII INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1115, FROM BIR

The seventh inscription of Aurangzeb, also noticed here for the first time, is carved on a slab measuring 70 by 50 cms, which is built up into the inner face of the eastern compound wall to the immediate left of the entrance of the Jāmi mosque at Bir.<sup>1</sup> Its text consists of five Persian couplets inscribed in as many lines, preceded in one more line by the *Bismī llāh*. The style of writing is *Nasta'liq* of a fairly good order.

It may be pointed out that this epigraph is not included in the exhaustive study of Bir inscriptions by the late Dr. Ghulām Yazdānī, which includes two from the Jāmi' mosque itself.<sup>2</sup> Very likely, the epigraph was brought to its present place after Dr. Yazdānī's study appeared in 1921.

This record like a couple of more records from Bir,<sup>3</sup> records the populating of the suburb, called after the name of Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān Fīrūz Jang, the viceroy of Deccan under Aurangzeb, by the Khān's deputy Hājī Sadr Shāh. The two records under reference, one each in Marāṭhī and Persian, refer only to the populating of the suburb called Ghāziu'd-Dīn nagar, according to the Persian epigraph, the work was accomplished in the regnal year 472 e. Ramadān 1113—Shā'bīn 1114 (January 1702—January 1703). The present inscription gives further information, namely that apart from the Ghāzi-Dimpūra, Hājī Sadr Shāh was also responsible for the construction of a fort, its moat and an 'Idgāh, which were completed in 1704/05.<sup>4</sup> The metrical text, which also gives the date in a chronogram, was composed by Muhammad Shāh, who describes himself as one of the humblest servants of the Hājī, but who was in reality, as we know from other records composed by him, the Hājī's son.<sup>5</sup> There are at Bir two more inscriptions composed by him.<sup>6</sup> But these as well as his other inscriptions betray his incompetence as a poet.

<sup>1</sup> *RIE* 1964-65 No. D 186. This epigraph was first found by an officer of the Archaeological Department of the Government of Mahārāshtra. For other inscriptions from the Jāmi mosque as well as its description, see *EIM* 1921-22, pp. 15-16.

<sup>2</sup> It is in the same hand as another inscription from Bir set up by the same person (*EIM*, 1921-22 p. 19 pl. III b).

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Yazdānī seems to have made an extensive survey of Bir and its monuments in November-December 1920 and his report thereon is published in *RIEN* 1920-21, pp. 4-14. This report was more or less reproduced in his article on Bir inscriptions published in *EIM* 1921-22.

<sup>4</sup> *EIM* 1921-22, p. 14 (pl. IX c) p. 19 (pl. III b).

<sup>5</sup> For a few more inscriptions mentioning Hājī Sadr Shāh, see *ibid.*, p. 16 (pl. II) p. 21 (pl. IV b) pp. 23-24 (pl. V).

<sup>6</sup> *EIPs*, 1962 p. 78, Inscription No. XIV, *infra*.

<sup>7</sup> *EIM*, 1921-22 pp. 23-24 (pl. V), Inscription No. XIV *infra*.

Hājī Sadr Shāh is perhaps the only nobleman, of whom we have monumental mementoes at a number of such far off places as Jāmau in Uttar Pradesh, Burhānpur in Central India and Bīr in Deccan<sup>1</sup> These inscriptions show that he was almost hereditary servant of his chief Ghāziu'd Dīn Khān, whose father Qilich Khān he had served according to the Jāmau record quoted above. It is interesting to note that the Hājī seems to have been quite fond of erecting edifices. It is unfortunate that he does not find mention in historical works, nor is anything known about his subsequent career or that of his son.

The text of the record has been read as under —

TEXT

Plate XII(a)

نا	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	(۱) قطعه
که عالم یرار نور اسلام و دین شد	اورنگ رتب	(۲) محمد سہ شاہ اورنگ رتب
ر حاحی صدر سہا حیری متین شد	حک	(۳) کہ در صوبہ حاکم فرور حکم
دگر پورہ آباد عاری دین شد	عندگاہ	(۴) یکی قلعه و حندی و عندگاہ
محمد سہ اسب آن کرو نظم اس شد	حرمین	(۵) ر کمتر علاءان حاحی حرمین
ندان قلعه بیر حصن الحصین شد	سال تعمیر	(۶) ہمہ مصرعہ آخرین سال تعمیر

۱۱۱۵

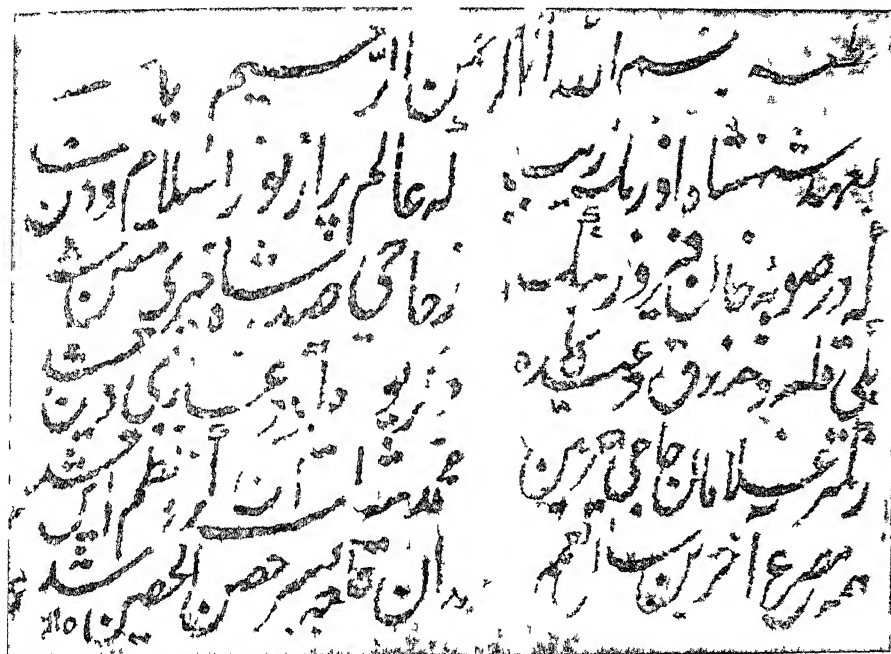
TRANSLATION

- (1) Qit'ā (Fragment) O In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Beneficent.
- (2) In the reign of the emperor Aurangzeb, when the world was illuminated by the light of Islām and religion,
- (3) when during the governorship of the sūba (province) of Khān Fīrūz Jang, some dependable good deeds were performed by Hājī Sadr Shāh (Of these)
- (4) one (was) the fort, the moat and the 'Īdgāh, (and) the other, populating of the pūrā-Ghāzī Dīn
- (5) Muhammad Shāh, by whom this poem has been composed, is one of the humblest slaves of the Hājī (lit. pilgrim) of the two holy places (Mecca and Madina)
- (6) The whole of the last hemistich (forms) the date of the construction. Know that the fort of Bīr has become an impregnable fort

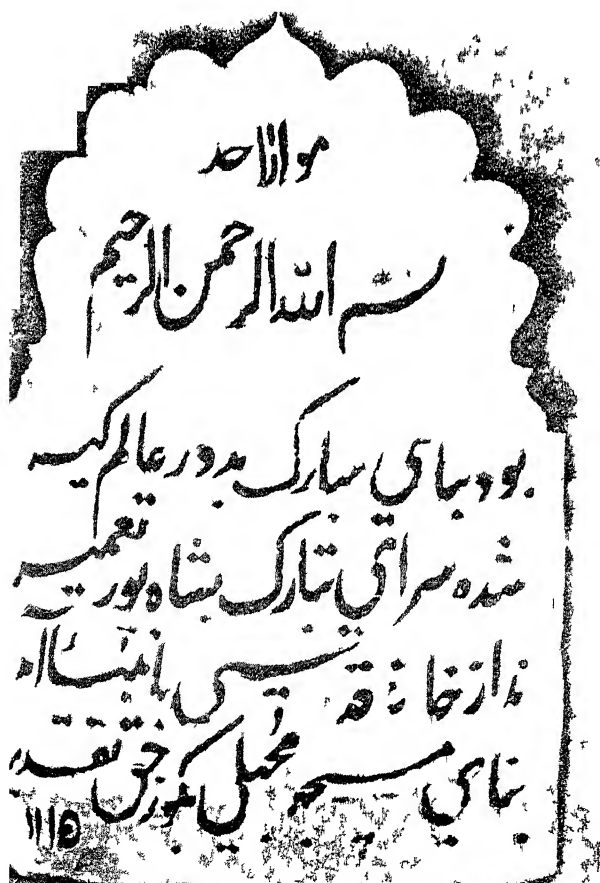
(A H) 1115 (1703-04 A D)

<sup>1</sup> For the Burhānpur and Jāmau inscriptions, see *EIAPS* 1962, p. 78 and *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 317 respectively. Incidentally, the Burhānpur epigraph gives interesting details about Sadr Shāh's earlier career and the foundation of two more towns by him in the vicinity of Delhi.

(a) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A H 1115 from Bir (p 46)



SCALE 12

(b) Epigraph of the same king same date  
from Gondegāon (p 44)(c) Another record of Aurangzeb, same date  
same place (p 43)





(١٢) کاتب العبد سید اسماعیل ابن سید مناحسینی

(١٣) تاریخ عره سهر ربیع الاول سنه ٩٨٤

## TRANSLATION

- (1) He is (Allāh)!
- (2) The Murād bastion was constructed through the support and protection of honour
- (3) If you like its name, then (lit and) grant it victory and (lit in) prosperity
- (4) There should also be a Murād palace in the Galna fort,
- (5) so that the people may obtain help from that (lit this) auspicious palace
- (6) The bastion which was constructed earlier (by him<sup>2</sup>), was not very strong
- (7) Hence, it was reinforced with stone and it thus attained respectability
- (8) The palace (lit house) constructed in the fort became popular
- (9) It was completed for the sake of the victorious king
- (10) Since, he has constructed such a beautiful memento,
- (11) may it always be famous, on account of its being constructed by Harbat Khān
- (12) Written by the creature Sayyid Ismā'il, son of Sayyid Manā Husanī,
- (13) on the 1st day of the month of Rabi' I, year 987 (28th April 1579)

## V INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 988

The fifth record of this group is fixed over the entrance of the Dargāh of Pīr Polād (Pūlād) in the village of Galna.<sup>1</sup> The slab, measuring 19 by 75 cm, is fixed length wise above the door and contains fifteen lines of writing carved in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters. The text comprises a poetical fragment of 5 couplets written in ten lines (3-12), preceded by two lines of religious matter. In the last three lines occur the name of the composer and scribe, the above-mentioned Sayyid Ismā'il, son of Sayyid Manā Husanī, and the date. This epigraph shows that Sayyid Ismā'il had adopted Sayyid as his poetical name. The reference to the help of Shāh Mardān, i.e. 'Alī, may also indicate him to be a follower of the Shi'a creed. As in the case of the previous inscription, the text presents yet another example of mediocre versification. It is worse than prose.

The text pretends to give an eulogistic description of the tomb and its surroundings. The 'resplendent tomb' is stated to be 'popular in the fort' (p 52) by which perhaps, 'venerated' is meant, and to have been surrounded by 'verdant trees and lofty edifices'. It assigns the construction to Pūlād Khān. It is dated 15th Shā'bān 988 (25th September 1580).

It will be noted that the text does not mention the name of the person on whose remains the tomb was constructed. Locally, the tomb is called Dargāh of Pīr Pūlād, which could as well have been derived from the name of the builder Pūlād, occurring in the text. It does not appear to be likely that his own tomb was constructed in his life-time by Pūlād Khān, since the trend of the purport, as far as it can be judged from the phrases 'auspicious', 'resplendent' etc., used for the tomb, would suggest that it was built over the remains of some one who had already died. Could

The chronogram is contained in the last hemistich, the numerical value of the letters of which when added up comes to 1310 out of which 194 the value of the word *qasr* is indicated by the word without in the first hemistich has to be deducted the balance 1116 is the date This method of calculation has also been indicated on the tablet where the numerical values including the date are engraved under or above the respective words

The quarter of the town in which the mosque is situated is called Mahallat Sadr It is difficult to say if the name is old or has been given recently but in any case it has perpetuated the name of the builder

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# NINE INSCRIPTIONS OF AKBAR FROM RAJASTHAN

BY S A RAHIM

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Nine inscriptions of Akbar copied in this decade from different places of Rājasthān have been selected for study in this article. Of these, two each are from Nāgaur, a district headquarters, and Tijārā in Alwar district, and one each from Bari Khātu, Kathotī and Lohārpurā in Nāgaur district, Bayānā in Bharatpur district and Āmber in Jaipur district. There are quite a few inscriptions of Mir Muhammad Ma'sūm Nāmī to be found also in Jaisalmer district, which were set up in this period, but these have not been included <sup>1</sup>

These epigraphs, coming as they do from different parts of Rājasthān, the traditional land of the Rajputs, are of sufficient historical importance. They provide interesting information useful for the history of the period in general and local history in particular. The estampages of these epigraphs were obtained as follows —The rubbings of Nos II, V, VII and IX by Dr Z A Desāi, of Nos I and IV by Shri W H Siddiqī and VI and VIII by Shri M F Khān of the office of the Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Nagpur

## I INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 968, FROM BARI KHĀTU

The findspot of the first inscription is Bari Khātu, situated in the Jāel Tahsil of the Nāgaur district. The inscriptional tablet is fixed over the central *mīhrāb* of the Shāhī Jāmī'-Masjid situated on the outskirts of the town, towards west south-west <sup>2</sup>

Locally called Masjid-i-Aqsā, this exquisite but unfortunately little-known mosque is constructed in the same trabeate style of the earliest surviving Indian mosques and is, both in architectural conception as well as decorative and structural details, similar, to a fairly large extent, to the much larger earliest mosques at Delhi and Ajmer <sup>3</sup>

The squarish tablet measuring 55 by 52 cms contains a record in Persian executed in somewhat inelegant *Naskh* characters. The five-line text refers to the complete renovation (*raj'did*) of the mosque building in 1561, in the reign of emperor Akbar by one of the officials of the court. Due to somewhat indifferent calligraphy, the exact name of the renovator cannot be made out, though the letters are in tact and almost perfectly legible. However his name has been tentatively

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<sup>1</sup> These have been listed in *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1955-56, No D, 120, 1958-59, No D, 173, 1961-62, Nos D, 230-31, 233-34, 1964-65, No D, 333, 1965-66, Nos D, 361-64, 1966-67, Nos D, 199, 234

<sup>2</sup> Bari Khātu seems to have been an important place in the early Sultanate period. Dr M A Chaghtā'i was the first to draw attention of the scholars to the rich epigraphical material of Nāgaur and Bari Khātu about three decades ago. There is a considerable number of inscriptions of this period to be found there, the earliest of which is a record of Iltutmish dated A H 629 (1232 A D), for which and for other records, see *ARIE*, 1958-59, Nos D, 170-82, *ibid*, 1962-63, Nos D, 194-209, 226-35, and *ibid*, 1966-67, Nos D, 199-214, 219-33. Some of these inscriptions were published in *EIAPS*, 1966, pp 5, 12, 16, *ibid*, 1967, pp 3, 8, 11, 20, *ibid*, 1968, pp 33-40, where apart from brief notes, references to published material dealing with the history etc., of the region will also be found. Quite a few of these records have been published by Dr Chaghtā'i in the journal *Urdū*, Karachi, January 1968.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1962-63, No D, 197. Its text was published in Chaghtā'i, *op cit*, p 164, No 16.

<sup>4</sup> The mosque is described in some details in Ziyā'ud Din Desāi, *Mosques of India* (Delhi, 1971), p 98.

read as Islām Baig and that of the mason as Burjī The text is stated to have been written by one Fakhr' d Dīn who does not seem to have been a regular calligrapher As a matter of fact, there is at least one orthographical mistake The composition of the text is also somewhat faulty

It will be seen that the inscription mentions a complete renovation of the mosque, but there is no trace visible, of any worthwhile, leave alone, extensive repairs, judging from its present architectural mass which, as stated above, is in the same tradition as the two famous Mamlūk mosques The repairs, therefore, if at all, must have been routine

The text of the epigraph has been read as under —

#### TEXT

#### Plate XIII(b)

- (۱) تجدید این بناء مستحق بناء در عهد خلافت حضرت پادشاه  
 (۲) عالیه در صدف عظام (۹) حلال الدین محمد  
 (۳) اکبر پادشاه حلد الله تعال (sic) ملکه و سلطانه اهنمام  
 (۴) کمترین بند [ه] درگاه بگ اسلام بناء درحی  
 (۵) فی تاریخ شهر شعبان المعظم سنه ثمان و ستین و سعمائه  
 (۶) دسب خط و میر فخر الدین

#### TRANSLATION

- (1) The renovation of this praiseworthy building (took place) during the reign of His Majesty the king  
 (2) of exalted dignity, the pearl of the shell of eminent men, Jalālu'd-Dīn Muhammad  
 (3) Akbar Bādshāh, may the Exalted Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, under the superintendence of  
 (4) the humble servant of the court Baig Islām (Islām Baig ?), the mason (?) being (?) Burjī (?)  
 (5) in the month of magnificent Sha bān of the year (A H ) eight and sixty and nine hundred (Sha'bān 968=April-May 1561)  
 (6) (In the) handwriting of the humble Fakhr'd-Dīn

#### II INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 973, FROM BAYĀNĀ

The second record comes from Bayānā, which is a sub-divisional headquarters in Bharatpur district It is inscribed in six panels, arranged in a single line, at a height of about two and a quarter metres from the ground, on the inner face of the eastern wall of the courtyard of the Khānqāh of Shāikh Sa'du'llāh<sup>1</sup> It occupies a total space of 9 m in length and 20 cms in width

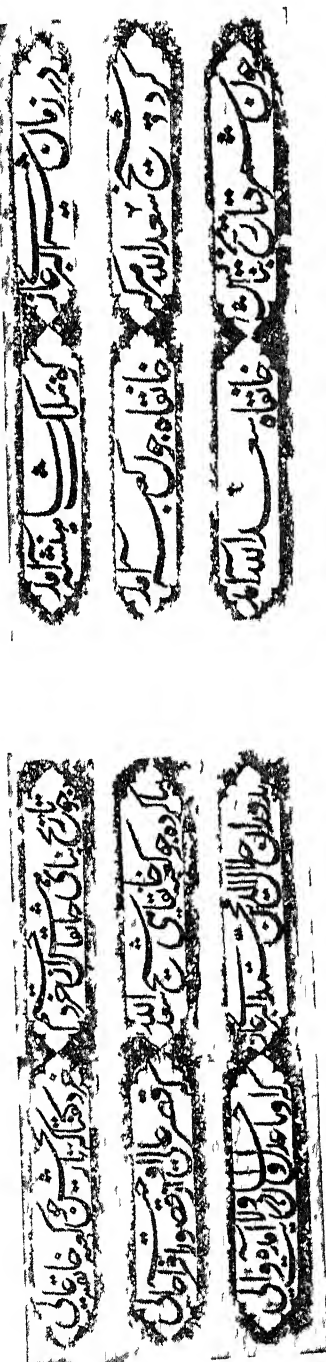
The text which is in Persian verse, consists of two Fragments, each composed in a different metre,<sup>2</sup> containing the same purport, namely, the construction of the Khānqāh of Shāikh Sa'du'llāh

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE* 1955 56 No D, 121

The metre in the second Fragment is faulty

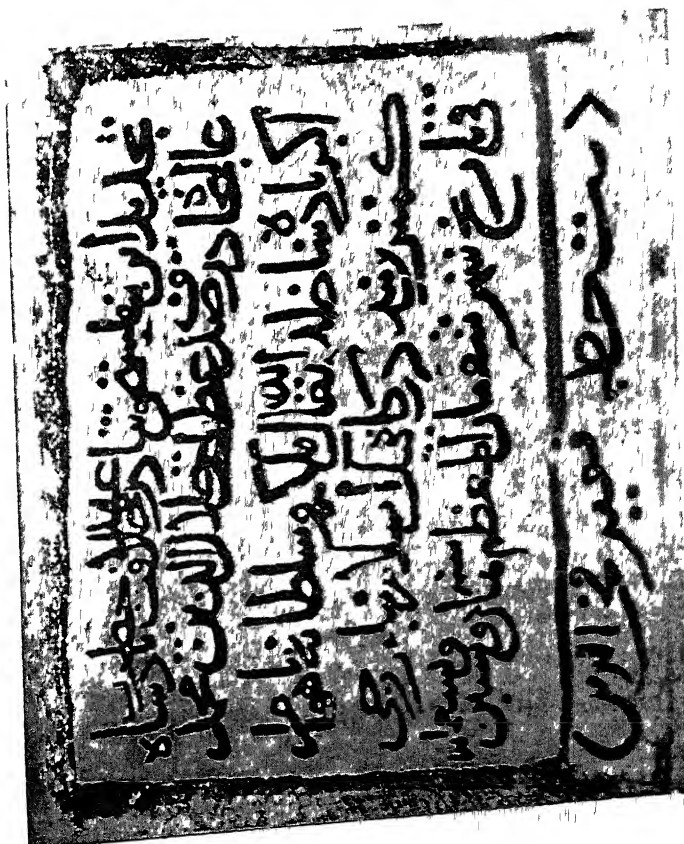
INSCRIPTIONS OF AKBAR FROM RAJASTHĀN  
( PLATES XIII—XV )

(a) Inscription dated A H 973 from Bayānā (p 51)



SCALE 35

(b) Inscription dated A H 968  
from Bari Khātu (p 50)



SCALE 15

(c) Inscription dated A H 993  
from Tījārā (p 57)



SCALE 27



in the time of emperor Akbar. Both the fragments are inscribed by the same calligraphist, whose name is not given, in *Nasta'liq* characters. Each fragment concludes with a phrase forming a chronogram, the first yields A. H. 973 (1565-66 A. D.) and the other A. H. 1002 (1593-94 A. D.). These two dates represent a gap of about thirty years, which is difficult to account for<sup>1</sup>. It may be that one is the date of the commencement of the building and the other that of its completion. Or, as is very likely, the chronogram contained in the second fragment (of which the metre is faulty) is wrongly reported, and the *Khānqāh* was built in about A. H. 973 (1565-66 A. D.) only. A reference by the famous historian Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī to the *Khānqāh* also lends support to this view.

The builder *Shaykh Sa'du'llāh* was an eminent learned man of his age, celebrated for his outstanding knowledge of Grammar, on account of which he was called *Nahwī* (Grammarian). He originally belonged to the eastern part of the country and had from his early age been under the spiritual influence of *Shaykh* Muhammad *Ghauth* of Gwālior. A reference to his having constructed a *Khānqāh* for the students and sūfis is made by Badāyūnī who had met him in the company of his maternal grandfather when only a child and had also studied the *Kāfiya* under him. According to him, *Shaykh* Sa'du'llāh died in A. H. 989 (1581-82 A. D.) and was buried in the *Khānqāh*. Badāyūnī also mentions one *Shaykh* Sa'du'llāh, son of *Shaykh* Budh, a powerful nobleman of Bayāna, whose brother was his friend<sup>2</sup>. But he may be a different person.

The reading of the inscription is as under —

## TEXT

## Plate XIII(a)

In six panels, from right to left

که او با عدل و احسان در ولایت آمده والی	(۱) دوران حلال الدین محمد اکبر عاری
که قصر عالی او از قصور افراسیه حالی	(۲) بنا کرده خو کعبه خانقاهی سیح سعد الله
حرد گفنا که ناریحس چو کعبه خانقاه عالی	(۳) خو ناریح بنای خانقاهس از حرد حسیم
کو مملکت ساهنسه آمد	(۴) در زمان سه اکبر عاری
خانقاه چون کعبه آمد	(۵) کرد سیح سعد الله مرکر
خانقاه سعد الله آمد	(۶) چون سمرد ناریح بناس

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of Jalālu'd-Dīn Muhammad Akbar, the *Ghāzī*, who has become the ruler of the kingdom with justice and benevolence,

(2) *Shaykh* Sa'du'llāh built a Ka'ba-like *Khānqāh* (Hospice), whose lofty building is free from blemish

<sup>1</sup> The second chronogram could also be worked out to yield A. H. 957 (if the value of the last word is not counted), but it would pose the same problem.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abdu'l Qādir Badāyūnī *Muntakhabu't Tawārīkh*, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1869) p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1867), p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> In the plate, these two panels have been inadvertently shown in line 3.



(3) When I sought from Wisdom the date of the construction of his Khānqāh, it replied, 'Its date is (it is) like Ka'ba a lofty hospice' (A H 973=1565-66 A D )

(4) In the reign of the king Akbar, the Ghāzi who is the emperor in the country

(5) Shāikh Sa'du'llāh made (his) Khānqāh a centre like Ka'ba

(6) When he reckoned the date of its construction (he found it in the chronogram) *The Khānqāh of Sa'du'llāh is ready* (A H 1002=1593 94 A D )<sup>1</sup>.

### III INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 968, FROM NĀGAUR

The third of these epigraphs<sup>2</sup> is from Nāgaur. The tablet measuring 60 by 35 cms. on which it is inscribed is lying loose in the compound of the Madrasa situated just within the Nahār Gate of the town<sup>3</sup>. The writing is badly damaged, but the text is more or less legible. Comprising five Persian couplets, inscribed in as many lines in *Nasta'liq* characters of no particular merit, it refers to the reign of emperor Akbar and to the governorship of Hājī Budāgh Khān, and records the construction of the pulpit of a mosque (*mimbar*) by Shāikh Sulaimān—the object of veneration of the high and the low—on the 4th Ramadān in the year 962 *after the death of the Prophet*<sup>4</sup>. This works out to 4th Ramadān 972 (5th April 1565).

The text of the epigraph is not perfectly legible at a few places, due to the somewhat indistinct nature of the impression<sup>5</sup>. However, this does not affect the purport of the record in any way, as will be observed from the reading quoted below --

#### TEXT

#### Plate XIV(b)

(۱) سد بنا ابن منبری در مسجدی عالی مقام	در زمان شه حلال الدین محمد بیکنام
(۲) در زمان عهد حاجی عادل حاجی بداع	کر طمیل او شده کاری همه مردم بطام
(۳) دور جمعه چهارمی نارنج از ماه حدای	ساعنی میمون گدسده بود سایان سد تمام
(۴) از طمیل لطف رب العالمین احر رسد	نابش سنج سلمان مقتدای خاص و عام
(۵) سالس از فوف رسول الله از روی حساب	از الف کم بود لام و بی که شد ممبر تمام

<sup>1</sup> See fn 2 on p 49

<sup>2</sup> These have been listed in *ARIE*, 1955 56, No D, 120 1958 59, No D, 173, 1961 62, Nos D, 230 31, 233 34, 1964 65 No D, 333, 1965 66, Nos D, 361 64, 1966 67, Nos D, 199, 234

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1961 62 No D, 253. The impression of this record was received from the Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Baroda, it was taken by his Technical Assistant, Shri N G Ghanam

<sup>4</sup> This is a somewhat unusual method of giving the date which is normally reckoned from the Migration of the Prophet from Mecca to Madina indicated by the term *Hijra*

<sup>5</sup> In the course of my visit to Nagaur, a fresh impression could not be prepared as the tablet was reported to have been buried deep in a heap of stones —Ed

## TRANSLATION

(1) This pulpit (*mimbar*) of the exalted mosque was made during the reign of the king, Jalālu d Dīn Muhammad (Akbar) of good name (and)

(2) in the time of the just Khān, Hājī Budāgh, on account of whom, the affairs of the people have prospered

(3) It was Friday the fourth day of the month of God (i.e. Ramadān)<sup>1</sup> an auspicious hour had passed and appropriate (when)

(4) through the grace of the Nourisher of the worlds (i.e. Allāh) it reached completion Its builder is Shāikh Sulaimān, who is resorted to by the high as well as the low

(5) Its date, by way of calculating from the death of the Prophet of Allāh was *alf* (1000) minus *lām* (30), *wāw* (6) and *bī* (2) (i.e. 1000 minus 38 being the numerical value of the letters *lām u āw* and *bī*) (i.e. 962), when the pulpit was completed

The date, as stated above, is expressed not in the usual Hijra era reckoned from the Migration of the Prophet, but from his death which took place on the Rabī I 11=(27 May 632) In other words, the year was 962nd from his death i.e. A. H. 972 and the day was Friday 4 Ramadān when the pulpit was completed (4 Ramadān 972=5 April 1565)

The epigraph is of sufficient interest to the students of history, both local as well as of the whole region Hājī Budāgh of the epigraph appears to be identical with Shāh Budāgh Khān, an eminent nobleman under Akbar, who is reported to have been alive at least upto A. H. 984 True, the name as quoted in the text does not append the prefix Shāh to his name, but it may be taken to have been replaced by the honorific Hājī, meaning one who has performed Hajj or pilgrimage to the Ka'ba in Mecca We know that Shāh Budāgh Khān had performed the Hajj in A. H. 962 (1555 A.D.)<sup>2</sup> But it is perhaps from the present inscription that Budāgh Khān's posting in Rājputānā, as governor of the Nāgaur region, is known

Equally interesting is the fact that this epigraph adds one more to the numbers of records mentioning the saint Shāikh Sulaimān, a much respected saint of Nāgaur and a direct descendant of the celebrated thirteenth century saint and scholar Qādī Hamīdu'd-Dīn Nāgaurī The other records mentioning him have been already published earlier in this series, where some details about him are recorded<sup>3</sup>

It is difficult to locate the mosque where the slab was originally fixed

## IV INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 977, FROM KATHOTI

The fourth epigraph was found in the village Kathoti in Jāl Tahsil of Nāgaur district The inscriptional slab is fixed over the *mīhrāb* of a mosque<sup>4</sup> Measuring 147 by 58 cms it contains a five-line text in Persian prose and verse, executed in *Nasta'liq* characters of a fairly high order,

<sup>1</sup> According to a Tradition "Sha bān is my month and Ramadān that of Allāh"

<sup>2</sup> For details of his career, see Abul Fādl, *Albar Nāma* vol I (Calcutta 1877), pp 29, 298, 325, 363 Nizāmu'd Dīn Ahmad, *Tabaqāt-i-Albarī* (Lucknow, 1875), pp 261, 266-269 Badāyuni *op cit*, vol II, pp 50-79, 81-102, *ibid* vol III, pp 23, 24, 26-194, 237, 737 Shah Nawāz Khān, *Ma'athirul Umrā*, vol II (Calcutta, 1890), pp 536-39, H Blochmann Eng. tr. *A'in-i-Akbarī* (Calcutta 1927) p 402, No 52

<sup>3</sup> *EIAPS*, 1968, pp 34-40, where references to all the epigraphs mentioning him—two from Nāgaur and one from Delhi—will also be found An inscription also from Nāgaur, mentioning his son is studied in this article (Inscription No VII)

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE* 1966-67, No D, 216

except in the latter part of the last line, where a couplet referring to the supervision of the construction seems to have been engraved in a different and also indifferent hand and perhaps at a somewhat later date. The epigraph states that in 1569-70, in the reign of Akbar, a mosque was constructed by the orders of Amīr Kishmī, the *Yasāwul* to the emperor, the actual work having been supervised by Nikbakht. Attention may be drawn to the titles used for the emperor which are in the fashion of those used in the early records of the Delhi Sultanate.

The inscription is thus quite important. None of the two persons mentioned therein is traceable from historical or other sources, though one of them at least, namely Amīr Kishmī was a man of high status, as is apparent from the high sounding honorific titles prefixed to his name. The present epigraph is thus the only document to have preserved his name. We also know from this record that Amīr Kishmī held the post of *Yasāwul* or Master of Ceremonies to the emperor. It may be reasonably surmised that he was closely associated with Kathotī, the findspot of the record and probably its neighbourhood too, either in administrative or feudatory capacity. It is therefore regretted that no information is available about his career. Very likely, his name Amīr Kishmī reflects his connection with Kishmī which was once the capital of the Central Asian state of Badakhshan, he may have been connected with its ruling family. As to the other person, we have no information, but in his case too, there is a strong possibility of his being an official under or on behalf of the said Amīr.

The text has been read as under —

#### TEXT

#### Plate XIV(c)

(۱) الله ولی یوفیق

(۲) ندای این مسجد عالی در انام حلاف حصرب نادرشاه دین پناه مولی ملوک العرب

و العجم ساهنساہ المعظم المظہر من

(۳) عند الله حلال الدین محمد اکبر پادشاہ حلد الله ملکہ و سلطانہ و افاص علی العالمین

نہ و احسانہ و نور دودہ و اہتمام

(۴) جناب امارت دآب سعادت اکسبات امیر کشمی نساوول حصرب الحافای صوب اتمام

یاف در تاریخ سنہ سنخ و ستمین و سعمانہ

(۵) من الہجرہ النبویہ علیہ الصلوہ و التحنہ قنہ (۶) بیب عمارت یاف این مسجد دعوی

لطف الرحمان صعب ندہ نیک نحب کارفرماں

#### TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh And (His) guidance is for me

(2) The construction of this exalted mosque, in the days of the caliphate of His Majesty the King, the shelter of religion, the lord of the Kings of Arabia and Persia, the magnificent emperor, one who is victorious





(3) near Allāh, Jalālu'd-Dīn Muhammad Akbar Bādshāh, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, and may cause the worlds to benefit from his bounty and beneficence and at the instance and by the efforts of

(4) His Excellency, the asylum of nobility, the fortunate Amīr Kishmī, the *yasāwul* (Master of Ceremonies) to His Majesty the emperor, received completion in the year seven and seventy and nine hundred (A H 977=1569-70 A D ),

(5) from the Migration of the Prophet, may salutation and blessings be on him !  
(Verse ) This mosque was constructed with the help of the favours of the Beneficent (Allah), its supervisor was the humble creature Nīkbakht

Before we pass on to the next inscription, it may be worthwhile to note that Kathotī is mentioned in historical works as one of the halting places of the Mughal forces sent in pursuit of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā, a couple of years after the date of this record <sup>1</sup>

#### V INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 977, FROM ĀMBER

The fifth epigraph is from Āmber, a Tahsil head quarters in Jaipur district and the first capital of the Kachhwāh rulers of Jaipur. The slab on which it is engraved is fixed into a niche in the northern wall of the courtyard of the principal mosque of the town, situated at the foot of the hill on which the famous Āmber fort stands <sup>2</sup>. It is fragmentary, and also the writing thereon running into four lines is somewhat damaged. The text is in Persian verse, consisting of three couplets. Of these, the major portion of the first hemistich and the last word of the second hemistich of the first verse and a few words in the beginning of the first hemistich of the second verse—this probably contained the name of the builder—are lost. The missing portion of the tablet in the left bottom seems to have contained the name of the supervisor or of the scribe or of both. An effort to reconstruct, conjecturally or otherwise, the whole text by supplying missing parts seems to have been made some time ago, as is shown by a complete copy of the record, engraved on another tablet fixed on one of the front columns of the prayer-hall <sup>3</sup>. Whether or not has the text been faithfully reproduced from a possible preservation thereof before the slab was damaged, it is difficult to say, but there is little doubt that the reconstruction is slightly misleading, particularly in the case of the missing text in the second couplet, as will be pointed out below.

The epigraph records the construction of a mosque in Āmber by an official whose name or nick name was very probably Hājī but whose designation *Tawāchī Bāshī* (Chief Prefect) is perfectly legible. The mosque is stated to have been completed in 1569-70. According to the reconstructed text referred to above, the construction was ordered by Akbar.

The record thus provides valuable historical information. The mosque was built by the Chief Prefect, Hājī Tawāchī-Bāshī. Since Āmber was at this period the capital of one of the three great Rajput states—the seat of the Kachhwāh chiefs, later on of Jaipur, there is no question of its being under direct Mughal control. The Tawāchī-Bāshī therefore might not have had any official connection with the place, except of course as a representative of the emperor or he might have had family connections there.

Judging from certain architectural details like the cusped arches and the shape and contour of the domes and the stripes thereon, the minarets, etc., the mosque on which the inscription is

<sup>1</sup> Badāyūnī, *op cit*, vol II, p 150

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1955-56 No 1), 136. It may be of interest to note that Badāyūnī (*op cit*, vol II, p 236) had camped here on his way to Fatehpur Sikri in Rabi'ul Awwal 984.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* No D 137

fixed, is evidently a building constructed later, most probably during Shāh Jahān's reign. This would mean that the original mosque must have been replaced by a new construction and the original inscription fixed on the latter. The damaged tablet should also point to this.<sup>1</sup>

The tablet approximately measures 87 by 62 cms. The style of writing of the epigraph is bold *Nasta'liq*, which though of no particular merit, is not unpleasant either.

The reading of the record with the missing text supplied from the modern epigraph wherever found to be correct, is quoted below —

## TEXT

## Plate XIV(a)

(۱) [حوں بحکم نافد . اہسہ] گردوں سکوه اکبر عاری حلال الدین محمد (۲) [بادشاہ]  
[سا]حب [حا]حے نواحی ناسی ار نہر تواب مسجدی در گوسہ (۳) امیر ار لطف الہ  
سد تمام این مسجد اندر نہر جمعہ و ہفتا و ہفت مردم اسلام را این مسجد آمد سجدہ گہ

## TRANSLATION

(1) [By the effective order of the emperor] of sky-like majesty, the Ghāzī, Akbar, Jalālu'd Dīn Muhammad

(2) Bādshāh,

a mosque was built by [Hā]jī Tawāchī-Bāshī, for acquisition of merit in the quarter of

(3) Amber, through God's grace

This mosque was completed in (the year) nine hundred and seventy and seven (A H 977 1569-70 A D ),

(4) this mosque has become a place of prostration for the followers of Islām (i.e. Muslims)

## VI INSCRIPTION DATED A H 993, FROM TIJĀRĀ

The sixth record is from Tijārā, a Tahsil headquarters in Alwar district. It is inscribed over the central *mīhrāb* of a mosque near the Tahsil Office.<sup>2</sup> It states that an exalted mosque was constructed in 1584-85 during the reign of Akbar, by Miyān Mubārak who is spoken of as a nobleman of the court. The language of the record is Persian verse and the style of writing, *Naskh* of no particular merit.

Miyān Mubārak, the builder, was also responsible for the construction of another mosque in the town, according to its inscription, also included in the present article (No VIII). It is very difficult to identify him, as we have quite a few persons with this name who flourished at about this time. One is, for example, Mubārak Khān, son of Kamāl Khān Gakkhar, who served in the 30th regnal year of Akbar in Kashmir.<sup>3</sup> Then we have Mubārak, the Dīwān of Mahdī Qāsim Khān.<sup>4</sup> Then again, there was Shaikh Mubārak of Alwar, who was greatly respected by the Sūr

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is by the Editor

<sup>2</sup> The modern inscription referred to above has “شد بنا نہر جمعہ ار نہر تواب”

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1965-55, No D 314

<sup>4</sup> Blochmann, *op cit*, pp 506-08, No. 171, Abu'l Fadl, *op cit*, vol III, p 485, Nizāmu'd Dīn, *op cit*, p 385

<sup>5</sup> Abu'l Fadl, *op cit*, vol II, p 98



king Salīm Shāh and the Afghāns. He seems to have been staying at Alwar. According to Badāyūnī, who had the honour of an interview with him more than once, he died at the age of ninety years, in or shortly before A H 1004 (1595-96 A D) <sup>1</sup>. Tījārā, the findspot of this inscription is in Alwar district which would make it very likely that Miṣyān Mubārak of our inscriptions is identical with Shāikh Mubārak. But in that case it would be difficult to explain the phrase describing him as 'a noble man of the court'.

The inscription consisting of three couplets, runs into as many lines occupying a space of 40 by 30 cms. It has been read as under —

## TEXT

## Plate XIII (c)

(۱) بدور اکبر عاری سہمساه بہادہ مسجد عالی ندائی  
 (۲) حباب اہل دول میان منارک عجب عالی ندائی پر صفائی  
 (۳) چو تاریخس طلب کردم حرد گف سہدہ نارنج او حیر نقاعے

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of Akbar, the Ghāzī, the emperor, the foundation of the exalted mosque was laid

(2) by the noble of the court Miṣyān Mubārak. What a wonderful exalted building full of purity!

(3) When I sought its date, Wisdom said, "Its date is a bountiful abode"

The phrase 'a bountiful abode', occurring in the last hemistich, when calculated according to the *Abjad* system, yields the date A H 993 (1584-85 A D)

## VII INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 997, FROM NĀGAUR

The seventh record is from Nāgaūr. It is inscribed above the central *mihṛāb* of a mosque situated near the Tomb of Shāikh Bāyazīd in Mahalla Suhrawardīyya <sup>2</sup>. It assigns the construction of a mosque in the Khānqāh (Hospice) of the saint Shāikh Bāyazīd to Kamāl Khān who is spoken of as 'the Shah (lit. king), faithful and of exalted dignity, the shadow of whose person is the refuge of the men of Allāh'. The mosque was constructed in 1588-89, during the reign of Akbar for the pleasure of Allāh and His Prophet, the date is afforded by a chronogram.

The text which comprises five Persian couplets is executed in *Nasta'liq*, which, though of no particular merit is nevertheless remarkable for neat execution. The writing occupies a space of 73 by 40 cms.

The builder of the mosque, Kamāl Khān, has nothing to do with the famous Kamāl Khān Gakkhar who had expired about three decades earlier <sup>3</sup>. He is also unlikely to be identical with Kamāl Khān, 'the descendant of Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dīn' who was present in Bābur's army pitted against Rānā Sāngā <sup>4</sup>. Among others, Sayyid Kamāl, son of Sayyid Hāmid Bukhārī of Gujarat continued to be in Akbar's service after his father's death in A H 993 and lived to serve under

<sup>1</sup> Badāyūnī, *op cit*, vol III, p 109 10

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1966-67, No D, 219

<sup>3</sup> Nizāmu'd Dīn, *op cit*, p 384

<sup>4</sup> Abu'l Faḍl, *op cit*, vol I, p 107



Jahāngir<sup>1</sup> One Kamāl, a Sayyid of Shīrāz, originally a servant of Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī, ultimately became a *sadr* which post he held until his death in about A H 1004<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to say for certain, particularly in view of the fact that none of these two names as mentioned with the title Khān, if any of them is intended here I am, however, inclined to think that Sayyid Kamāl, the *sadr* is perhaps intended here, for by virtue of his post, he was in a position to be of help and assistance to saintly and scholarly persons, as is implied by the description in the text —‘the shadow of his self being the asylum of the men of Allāh’ The word Shāh, of which Shah is a corruption, it may be pointed out, was generally appended to the names of the Sayyids There is another alternative interpretation of the name The word Shah here may be part of the name of Khān Shāh i.e. Khānshah, in which case the builder would be Kamāl, son of Khānshah, and he may have been an ardent disciple of saint Bāyazīd in the premises of whose hospice, the mosque was built He may also have been an official

The saint Bāyazīd referred to in the text was, according to the Family Trees in possession with the saintly families of Nāgaur, a son of Shaikh Sulaimān, the much respected saint of Nāgaur who has been already mentioned in the previous lines (Inscription No III)

The text of the inscription is quoted below —

#### TEXT

#### Plate XV(b)

(۱) کمال خان سه نا وفای عالی حا	که هست سانه داتس پناه اهل الله
(۲) نمود نهر رضای خدا و قول رسول	سای حیر در ایام دولت اکبر شاه
(۳) نجاهاد ولی سیح نادر د رمان	که هست خانه اسلام رو نه پشت و پناه
(۴) حوتس اسب مسجد مرعوب فیض بخش عمیم	که سد طواف گه رانان بیت الله
(۵) درون مسجد پیوسته فیض می نارد	ار ان ست سال نایس ر فیض دین اله

#### TRANSLATION

(1) Kamāl Khān, the Shah (lit. king) or Kamāl (son of) Khānshah, the faithful and of exalted dignity, the shadow of whose person is the refuge of the men of Allāh (i.e. saintly people),

(2) constructed in the reign of Akbar Shāh, an edifice of public utility (i.e. a mosque) by way of seeking the pleasure of God and in accordance with the saying of the Prophet (i.e. Muhammad)<sup>3</sup>,

(3) inside the Khānqāh (Hospice) of the saint, the Shaikh, Bāyazīd of the time, who is a great supporter of the house of Islām

(4) It is a beautiful and agreeable mosque, the blessings of which are universally spread, and which is a place of circumlocution for the pilgrims of the House of Allāh

(5) The blessings (of Allāh) are always pouring down in the mosque Hence, the year of its construction is (afforded by the chronogram) *It is a source of the blessings of the religion of God*

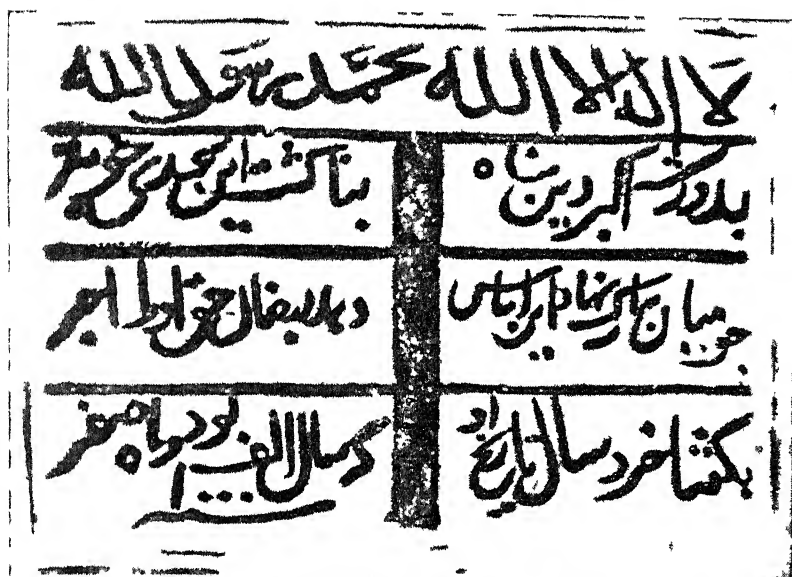
The chronogram contained in the last hemistich yields the date A H 997 (1588-89 A D)

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann *op cit*, p 434

<sup>2</sup> Badāyūnī, *op cit*, vol II, p 343

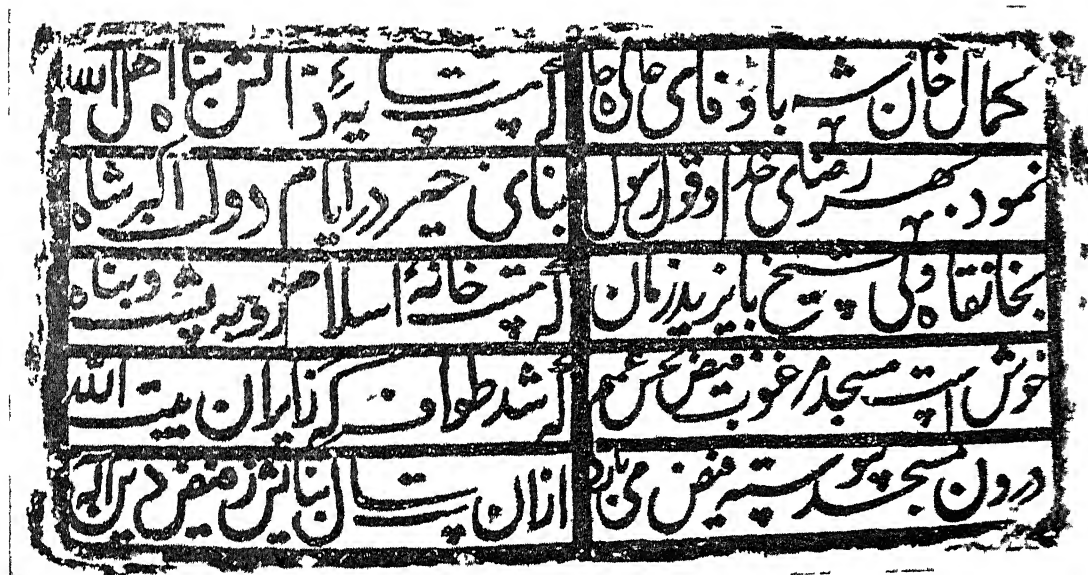
<sup>3</sup> The reference is to the famous Tradition so commonly occurring in mosque inscriptions

(a) Epigraph, dated A H 1000 from Tījārā (p 59)



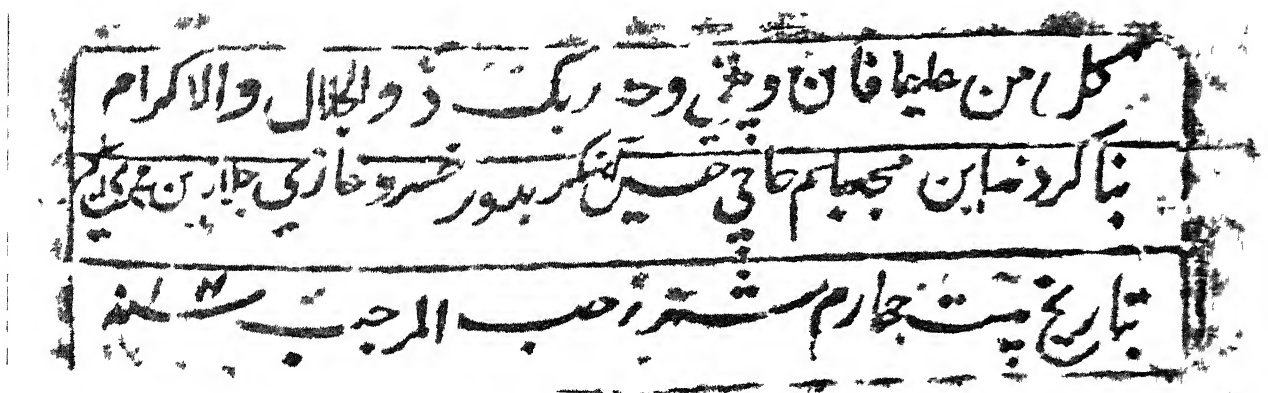
SCALE 28

(b) Inscription, dated A H 997, from Nāgaur (p 58)



SCALE 16

(c) Record, dated A H 1011 from Lohārpurā (p 60)





## VIII INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1000, FROM TIJĀRĀ

The last but one epigraph of this article is again from Tijārā. It appears over the central *mīhrāb* of the mosque of Qādī Karam Husamī in Mahalla Qādiwādā<sup>1</sup>. It assigns the erection of a mosque to Miṣyān Mubārak towards the close of the year 1591, in the time of emperor Akbar. The epigraphical tablet measures 32 by 25 cms and the text comprises the First Creed in Arabic and a fragment of three Persian verses, the date, given in words in the main text, is also inscribed in figures at the end. The style of writing is *Naskh* and *Nasta'liq* of indifferent type.

The builder Miṣyān Mubārak has been already mentioned in a previous inscription of this study (No. VI).

The text reads as follows —

## TEXT

## Plate XV(a)

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) بدور سه اکبر دس پناه ساگش ابی مسحدی حویر

(۳) چو میان مبارک نهاد ابی اساس دهد در حناں حق اورا احمر

(۴) نگفتا حرد سال باریج او که سال الف بود و ماه صفر

(۵) سه ۰۰ ۱

## TRANSLATION

- (1) There is no god except Allāh, Muhammad is His Apostle
- (2) In the reign of Akbar, the defender of the Faith, this beautiful mosque was constructed
- (3) Since Miṣyān Mubārak laid its foundation, God will give good reward to him in paradise
- (4) Wisdom said about its date of construction, "The year was one thousand and the month *Safar*"
- (5) Year (A H) 1000 Šafar 1000 (November-December 1591)

## IX INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1011, FROM LOHĀRPURĀ

The last record of this article comes from Lohārpurā in Tahsil and District Nāgaur. It is inscribed on a tablet measuring 60 by 22 cms which is fixed on the *mīhrāb* of a mosque locally called Chhoti-Masjid<sup>2</sup>. It comprises a three-line text, of which the first contains a Quranic verse, the second comprises the record proper, composed in what is perhaps intended as a Persian couplet, and the third gives the date. According to the epigraph, the mosque was constructed in the name of Ḥājī Husam Āhangar (lit. blacksmith) in 1602 during the time of emperor Akbar. The style of writing is *Nasta'liq* of a fairly good order.

<sup>1</sup> *ARJE*, 1965 66 No. D, 315

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 1961 62, No. D, 244

Ḥājī Ḥusain Āhangar in whose name the mosque was built—very likely, it was built by him—seems to be a man, at least, of local importance. I could not trace any reference to him in contemporary sources. But the epigraph is important in establishing quite an interesting piece of information. The name of the locality Lohārpurā to which the inscription belongs, literally means the 'city or quarter of blacksmiths', and our record also uses the appellation of Āhangar, meaning a blacksmith with the name of Ḥājī Ḥusain. This should indicate that the name Lohārpurā was given to the locality on account of its population of the blacksmiths, right from the time of emperor Akbar—and possibly even from earlier times.

The reading of the inscription is quoted below —

#### TEXT

#### *Plate XV(c)*

(۱) کل من علیها فان و یسئ وجه ربک دوالجلال و الاکرام

(۲) بنا کردند این مسجد باسم حاجی حسن آهنگر

بدور خسرو عاری حلالدین محمدی اکبر

(۳) بنا رجح بسب چهارم شهر رحب المرحب سنه ۱۱۱۱

#### TRANSLATION

(1) Whatever is thereon will pass away and there shall only survive the Face of Thy Lord, the Lord of Glory and Greatness <sup>1</sup>

(2) This mosque was built in the name of Ḥājī Ḥusain Āhangar during the reign of the king Jalāl-i-Dīn Muḥammadī-Akbar

(3) On the twenty-fourth of the venerable month of Rajab, [year 1011 (28]December 1602)

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'an*, Chapter LX, verse 26

# INSCRIPTIONS OF EMPEROR AKBAR FROM UTTAR PRADESH

BY W H SIDDIQI AND Z A DESAI

This article is in continuation of the previous ones dealing with the lithic records of the earlier Muslim dynasties from Uttar Pradesh, that have appeared in this Series <sup>1</sup>. The findspots of the eighteen inscriptions studied here in chronological order cover a large area of Akbar's territory in the province—Jampur in the east, Amrohā in the west, Bareilly in the north and Kalpi in the south. In terms of time, they cover almost the whole reign of the emperor. Most of these epigraphs are published here for the first time, but the few which were noticed and published elsewhere will be pointed out in the respective places, were not studied in quite a scientific manner and therefore are included here.

So far, only a limited number of Akbar's inscriptions has been published. Even the modern scholars who have published monographs on the life and times of this great monarch have not even cared to utilise properly the valuable information contained in the epigraphical records of his reign that have been brought to light from time to time. As will be seen, these epigraphs contain valuable data about places and personages of varied status and professions such as ministers, noblemen, *jaqir* holder, provincial governors, high officials, physicians, poets, saints, architects or mason, scribe and calligraphers, etc., who flourished at this period. It is therefore hoped that the present illustrated article will be of use to the students of various aspects of Mughal history. Also, the illustrations will supply adequate material to those interested in the art of calligraphy, the scripts represented therein being *Nast'ih*, *Thulth* and *Asta'liq*. From architectural point of view too, recording as they do the construction of edifices of different types, their evidence on the period of the building and the development of the building art is valuable, as it would facilitate proper judgement of the architectural style.

## I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 963, FROM SHERPUR

The late Maulvī Muhammad Shuaib of the Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle, Agra, who copied this epigraph in the early years of this century had found the epigraphical tablet at Āzampur, a place not very far from its present findspot Sherpur, in the Morādābād district <sup>2</sup>. Now a very small and decayed village in the Hasanpur Tahsil, Āzampur was an important town as is indicated by numerous buildings of appreciable size, some of which are still to be seen there, and had given its name to a *parwana*, now for the most part included in the Bijnor district <sup>4</sup>. In Akbar's time, Āzampur was an important *parwana* in the *sarkār* of Sambhal, <sup>5</sup> and it was given in fief, in the early part of his reign, to his relative Mirzā Sulṭān Muhammad and his sons <sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphiae Indicae Arabicae et Persicae Supplement (EIAS)* 1961, pp. 45-48, *ibid.*, 1962, pp. 41-52, *ibid.*, 1964, pp. 1-20, *ibid.*, 1965, pp. 11-18.

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, United Provinces, Agra (ARASIUP)*, 1911-12, p. 68, No. E, 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIEP)*, 1964-65, No. 10, 384.

<sup>4</sup> *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (DGUP)*, volume XVI, Morādābād (Allahabad, 1911), p. 194, where a brief description of the buildings will be found.

<sup>5</sup> Abu'l Fajl, *Amal-i Akbarī* (11), vol. I (Calcutta, 1872), pp. 370, 521.

<sup>6</sup> *DGUP*, vol. XVI, p. 194. As is well known, these very Mirzās had rebelled in 1567 against the young emperor and caused him much trouble.

This is an unpublished and historically important record and it constitutes the earliest known records of emperor Akbar, it was set up in A.H. 963 (1555-56 A.D.) a few months after his accession.

The inscriptional tablet of red sandstone is now lying loose in the local Jāmi' mosque.<sup>1</sup> According to Maulānā Shu'ayb, it originally belonged to the ruined Jāmi' mosque of Āzampur, but was lately removed by the local Muslims and fixed on a side wall of a small mosque named Qādir-kī Masjid. In the district gazetteer compiled at about the same time or slightly earlier, it is spoken of as being *in situ* on the Jāmi' mosque. Anyway, during Sher Siddiq's visit to Āzampur in November 1954, he could not find it there and was informed on inquiry that it was very recently removed by some resident of Sherpur.

The slab measures 45 by 80 cms. and contains seven lines of writing executed in relief in *Nasikh* characters of a fair type. The first and the sixth line contain non-historical text, the last gives the name of two persons, one of whom was the supervisor of the construction and the other, probably, the writer, and the remaining comprise the main text of four verses in Persian, which states that a Jāmi' mosque was constructed in 1555-56 during the reign of emperor Akbar by Kamālu'llah 'Ālīm, son of Sulaiman under the superintendence of Khwaja Jumman. The name Kamālu'd-Dīn, son of Ādam, occurring at the end of the text, can be reasonably taken to be that of the writer.

The text has been deciphered as under:—

TABLE

Plate XVI (a)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

(۲) بِنَا اَبْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ مَّوَدُّوْنَ وَ دَانِیْ مَسْرُورِ سِدِّ نَعُوْنَ اللّٰهُ فَاوِیْ

(۳) رَهْجَرِبْ سَبَبِ سَهْ دِهْجِدِ اِهْ اَرْسَالِ لَهْ سِدِّ اِمَامِ اَبْنِ حَامِعِ نَحْوَسَحَالِ

(۴) نَعْمَدِ دَوْلَتِ اِمْلَانِ مَطْعَرِ حَلَالِ الدِّیْنِ مُحَمَّدِ سَاهِ اَكْبَرِ

(۵) مَنَایِ اَبْنِ اَبَا وَهَبِ رِجَانِ اَمَالِ اللّٰهُ عَالِمِ اَبْنِ سُلَیْمَانِ

(۶) وَ صَلَّی اللّٰهُ عَلٰی حَبْرِ حَامَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَ آلِهِ اٰحْمَعِنِ

(۷) کَاوَرَهْمَاءِ حَوَاحِ حَمْنِ کَدَالِ الدِّیْنِ اَبْنِ آدَمِ

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful

(2) The construction of this symmetrical and wonderful mosque was made possible through the help of Allāh the Most Superior

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE* 1964-65 No D 384

*ARASIUP*, 1911-12, p. 68. About sixty years back the mosque was a fine building quite out of proportion to the present size of the village (*DGUP* vol. XVI p. 194) but now it is almost completely ruined—nothing of the original stone structure remains except its eastern gateway and part of the rear wall.









(3) The year was sixtythree and nine hundred from the Migration (A H 963=1555-56 A D ) when this Jāmi' (mosque) was completed in a happy state

(4) during the reign of the victorious Sulṭān, Jalālū'd Dīn Muhammad Akbar, the king

(5) The builder of this mansion of the Most Glorified (Allāh) (is) Kamālū'llah 'Ālam, son of Sulamān

(6) And may salvation of Allāh be upon the best of the creation (i.e. Prophet) Muhammad and his progeny, all of them

(7) The superintendent (of the construction is) Khwāja Jumman (Written by ?) Kamālū'd-Dīn, son of Ādam

About none of the persons mentioned in the record, we have any information

## II INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 965 FROM BULANDSHAHR

This inscription, in unpublished record<sup>1</sup> from Bulandshahr, a district headquarters, is engraved in relief on a slab measuring 50 by 13 cms which is fixed in the north wall of the courtyard of the Mughal Masjid. It was copied in 1962 by Shri A. A. Kādri, Epigraphical Assistant

The text comprises eight lines of writing in Persian and records the completion of the building of the mosque in 1567 in the time of the administration of Abu'l Fath Muhammad Mu'min Muzī under the supervision and architect ship (*mī mār*) of Khwāja Ahmad Alahdiya Ansāri. From this as also from some of the inscriptions of Akbar from different parts of the country published in the present issue, it will be seen that the titles used for him in the early part of his reign read more like those used in the early Sultanate period

The text is inscribed in Na'li characters and reads as under —

II XI

### Plate XVII (a)

(۱) هو السعدود

(۲) تالمام رسد عمارت اس مسجد فردوس مثال دعوى الله الملك المتعال

(۳) در عهد دولت عالم حضرت شهساز عالم فردان فردان دوى رمى

(۴) طل الله فى العالمين سلطان البحر والارض الدانى حمد اكبر

(۵) ناساه عارى حلد الله ملكه و سلامه فى زمان حكومت سالجاه رفعت پناه

(۶) مرلى الفقرا ابو الفتح محمد مومن مدررا احسن الله سانه

<sup>1</sup> Of course, it was briefly referred to in *DGUP*, vol. V, Bulandshahr (Lucknow 1922) p 207

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1962 63 No. D. 254. For the history buildings and inscriptions of Bulandshahr see *DGUP*, vol V, pp 206 07, Führer *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North Western Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad 1891), pp 4 5. *ARIE* 1962 63, Nos. D. 250 63, *ELAPS*, 1964, pp 4, 6, *ibid*, 1966, pp 1 16, *ibid*, 1968, p 28, etc

(٤) ناهمام و ديمارى بسده دركه نارى حواحه احمد الهدئه انصارى

(٨) ساريج النابع و المروى من سمر محرم سنه خمس و ستين و سعمائه ٩٦٥

## TRANSLATION

(1) He is the Diety

(2) The building of this Paradise-like mosque was completed through the help of the Almighty and the Sublime Allāh,

(3) in the time of the government of His Exalted Majesty, the emperor of the world, the ruler of the surface of the earth,

(4) the Shadow of Allāh in the worlds, monarch of the land and the sea, Jalālud Dīn Muhammad Akbar,

(5) Pīdshāh Ghāzī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, in the time of the governor-ship of the one possessing lofty dignity, the asylum of loftiness,

(6) the patron of the poor, Abu'l-Fath Muhammad Mu'min Mirzā, may Allāh add to his dignity,

(7) under the supervision and architect ship (or masonship) of the servant of the court of the Omnipotent, Khwāja Ahmad, (son of) Alahdiya Ansārī,

(8) on the twentyseventh of the month of Muharram in the year five and sixty and nine hundred (A H ) 965 (27th Muharram 965-19th November 1557)

The text is not quite clear about the actual builder of the mosque. It could have been built at the instance of the governor, or the person in charge of the construction, namely Khwaja Ahmad might have built it. As to Abu'l-Fath Muhammad Mu'min Mirzā, the governor, who is described as the patron of the poor and needy, it is difficult to establish his identity. He is evidently different from Muhammad Mu'min, brother of Khwaja Shamsud-Dīn Khwāfi, the celebrated official and noble of Akbar.<sup>1</sup> From his *kunya* and also from the appellation Mirza suffixed to his name, it can be reasonably surmised that he belonged to the royal family. It is therefore surprising that he finds no mention in historical work and hence, our epigraph is quite important as it has preserved the name of an important official. Likewise, Khwaja Ahmad son of Alahdiya Ansārī is untraceable.

## III INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 968 FROM ĀGRA

This inscription, a new find from Āgrā, was found and copied in 1960 by Shri S. A. Rahim then Epigraphical Assistant. It is inscribed on a slab measuring 110 cm. by 33 cms. which is fixed over the central *mahrāb* of the Mughal-Masjid in Sadr-i Bazar Mahalla of the city,<sup>2</sup> which, Shri Rahim reports, was recently converted into a hotel.

<sup>1</sup> Nizāmu'd Dīn Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Lucknow, 1875), pp. 509, 772, 782, 787.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1965 66, No. D, 392.

The text of the record on the wall of two lines in Persian which are executed in relief in beautiful *Thulth* script is in the construction of the mosque in 1582 to an official *Iktiyār Khan*, son of *Shihābūd Dīn*, who is described as the Faujdār i *Khāssa*. It reads as under —

IN XI

Plate XVIII(c)

(۱) بنا کرد این مسجد در ایام دولت حلال الدین محمد اکبر شاه به ساری حلد الله ملکه

(۲) بنده درگاه احسان خان فوجدار خاصه این شاه در سال ۹۷۰ هجری قمری و سب و

هست از هجرت

TRANSLATION

(1) This mosque was built in the reign of *Salīmūd Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzī*, may Allāh perpetuate his dominion,

(2) by the command of the court official *Iktiyār Khan*, the Faujdār i *Khāssa* (commander of the royal force), son of *Shihābūd Dīn* in the year nine hundred and sixty and eight from the Migration (A.H. 968 = 1566 A.D.)

The builder of the mosque *Iktiyār Khan* is evidently identical with *Iktiyār Khan Faujdār*, one of the five officials who commanded the royal division (*morechal i khāssa*) that was pitted against the *Pathans* of the Chitor fort in A.H. 975<sup>1</sup>. His designation may be taken to indicate that he was attached to the royal contingent. It also furnishes the name of his father *Shihābūd Dīn*. The latter does not seem to have anything to do with *Shihābūd Dīn Ahmad Khān*, a Sayyid of *Chitor* (d. A.H. 990), who was Mughl viceroy of Gujarat and Mālwa for many years.

INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 970, FROM KĀLPI

This inscription is on a slab of stone from Kālpī in District Jālāun<sup>2</sup>. The inscribed slab, measuring 11 by 11 feet, is placed over the *anhrab* in the western wall, of an unidentified tomb situated near the *Chilla* of the famous fifteenth century saint *Shāh Madār* in Madarpur locality of the town<sup>3</sup>. The imposing domed structure is in decaying condition. Its stone screen and floor are broken but the dome and the grave are still intact. *Shrī Siddiqī* who obtained the reproduction of the inscription reports that the stone sarcophagus inside the dome is richly incised with *Gharāmī* text in extremely elegant *Thulth*.

The text of the epigraph runs into four lines and signifies the construction of the tomb in 1562-63 to Nawab *Nūr Ahmad Khan*. The language of the inscription, except in the first line containing the religious text in Persian. The style of writing is *Naskh* of a fairly good type

<sup>1</sup> Abu'l Fida, *Wāṭiyyat al-Hind* (Calcutta, 1879) p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> For details of the locality see *Maṭṭhar al-Umara*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 567-70.

<sup>3</sup> For the history of the inscription of Kālpī see *ICUP*, vol. XXV Jālāun (Allahabad, 1921) pp. 158-64, A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report* (1884), vol. XXI (Calcutta, 1885) pp. 131-33, *Führer*, *op cit*, pp. 112-13, *ICUP*, 1903 and 1904 pp. 24-39.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIL*, 1961-62, No. 10, 363.

Its text is quoted below —

## TEXT

## Plate XVI(b)

- (۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بنوحي الله الملك المنان  
 (۲) در عهد دولت سلطان الاعظم الحافان محمد اكبر ناساه عارى  
 (۳) بفرموده نواب نادرى ناصر على سلطان در ماه ربيع الاخر سنه  
 (۴) نهجده و هه نادر بود كه عمارت ابن گنبد تمام شد

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful Through the guidance of Allah the Obliging Lord,

(2) in the reign of the greatest king, the *Kh̲iṭqān*, Muhammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzī,

(3) by the order of the illustrious Nawwāb Nāsir ‘Alī Sulṭān, in the month of Rabi‘u’l *Ākhar*, (when) the year

(4) was nine hundred and seventy (Rabi‘ II A H 970 November December 1562 A D), the building of this dome was completed

It is quite unfortunate that the name of the person on whose grave the tomb was built, has not been specified There is no literary evidence either to identify him By the grand structure and its proximity with the *Chilla* of *Shāh Madār*, one would be tempted to hazard a guess that the occupant of the tomb was either a saint of note or a high official of the period At any rate, it must belong to some distinguished personality of that place It is also probable that the tomb is that of the builder, Nawwāb Nāsir ‘Alī Sulṭān himself, who erected it in his life time, as the practice of building a tomb in one’s own life time was, and even now, not quite uncommon

It is difficult to identify the Nawwāb Historical works of the period seem to ignore him altogether, although he seems to have been a person of note, as his name as well as the title Nawwāb tend to suggest Our epigraph is thus the only source to have left his name to posterity and therein lies its importance

## V INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 970, FROM SAKET

This inscription comes from the ancient town of Saket in Etāh district, situated sixteen kilo metres southeast of the district headquarters<sup>1</sup> It was copied in about 1953 by Shri Y K. Bukhārī the then Senior Epigraphical Assistant It was first published by H. Blochmann whose reading was, however, neither complete nor fully correct<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For an account and history of the town, see *DGUP*, vol. XII Fateh (Allahabad, 1911) pp 213 14, where reference has been made to the epigraph under study For other inscriptions from Saket see *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica (EIM)*, 1913 14, p 32 (Balban’s), *EIAPS*, 1967 pp 38 39 (Shah Shāh’s) *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (PASB)*, 1874 (Calcutta 1875) p 105 (Aurangzeb’s), *ARIE*, 1952 53 Nos C, 131 33, etc

<sup>2</sup> *PASB*, 1874, p 105 E T Atkinson, *Statistical Descriptive, And Historical Account of the North Western Provinces of India*, vol IV (Allahabad, 1876), p 189

The inscriptional tablet, measuring 1 33 m by 66 cms, is fixed in the west wall of the mosque situated near the Ināmbāra,<sup>1</sup> and contains a three line text, below which are inscribed a couple of names including that of the scribe. The epigraph records the construction of the mosque in 1563, carried out by the orders of Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm Khān Badakhshī. The epigraph was inscribed by one Imā'il, whom it is difficult to identify. The text inscribed in a later hand, as in the case of the name of the scribe and to the right of it, below the last line, has obliterated and cannot be satisfactorily made out. It perhaps contained the name of the person who actually saw through the construction. It will be seen that in this epigraph also, as in the case of the most of the inscriptions of the early reign of Akbar such of the titles as are generally met with in the inscriptions of the early Sultāns of Delhi, are employed.

The record is of sufficient historical significance as it provides an epigraphical memento of one of the distinguished noblemen of the time of Humāyūn and Akbar, namely Khwāja Ibrāhīm Badakhshī, who held the *pargana* of Sakit in *jāgīr*. Incidentally, it was at Sakit, in the year previous to the date of our epigraph, that an attempt was made on the life of Akbar.<sup>2</sup> Also we know for the first time from the epigraph that the Khwāja was known by the title Nizāmu'd-Dīn. He was originally a servant of Mīrzā Hindāl, brother of emperor Humāyūn and had joined the latter on his master's death. Under Akbar, he held the rank of 1000 horse and held the *pargana* of Sakit in *jāgīr*. The last mention of him occurs in the annals of A.H. 969, while our epigraph shows that he continued to hold the *pargana* at least until the next year.<sup>3</sup>

The text is inscribed in *Thulih* of a fairly good quality and has been read as follows —

TEXT

Plate XIX(b)

(١) نبى هذا المسجد المباركة السرىة فى زمان الدولة السلطان الاعظم و الحافان المكرم  
 مولى ملوك العرب و العجم حافظ بلاد الله و ناصر  
 (٢) عناد الله حامى دى النبى الحجارى حلال الدى محمد اكبر نادشاه عارى حلد الله تعالى  
 ملكه و سلطانه و افاص  
 (٣) على العالمين نره و احسانه امر بهذا اناب مآب امارت پناه صاحب الجود و الاحسان  
 نظام الدى ابراهيم خان ندحسى شهر سعبان سنة ستين و تسعمانه  
عرب كاتب اسماعيل (٣)

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE* 1952 53, No C, 132

<sup>2</sup> The incident as related by Akbar himself, is described in Abu'l Fadl, *AN*, vol II, pp 163 65

<sup>3</sup> References to him will be found in Abu'l Fadl, *AN*, vol I (Calcutta, 1878), pp 314 15 vol II pp 163 64, 44, vol I, p 225

<sup>4</sup> Blochmann, *op cit*, p 105 reads 'نبى هذه المسجد'

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, omits this word

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid* reads 'فاص'

<sup>7</sup> The underlined words have not been deciphered in *etia*

<sup>8</sup> The underlined portion is too obliterated to admit of decipherment Blochmann, *op cit* p 105, omits the word 'عرب' also, but it is quite legible

## TRANSLATION

(1) This blessed and noble mosque was constructed in the time of the government of the great king and illustrious Khāqān, lord of the kings of Arabia and Persia, protector of the cities of Allāh and helper

(2) of His creatures, champion of the religion of the Prophet of Hijīz, Balad Dīn Muhammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzī, may the Exalted Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and make his

(3) bounty and gift universal! This (construction) was ordered by the refuge of glory and the asylum of nobility, master of generosity and kindness, (namely) Nā'imūd Dīn Ibrāhīm Khān Badakhshī, (in the) month of Shābān (in the) year (A H ) seventy and one hundred (Shābān 970=March-April 1563)

(4)

The poem writer is Ismī'īl

## VI-VIII INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A H 975, FROM JAUNPUR

These three inscriptions are from the mosque at Jaunpur,<sup>1</sup> locally known as the Hammām Darwāza mosque, and were copied by Shīr Kādūrī in 1963. They are complimentary to one another in that one refers to the reign of the king, the other records the construction of the mosque, the name of its builder and the chronogram for its date, and the third quotes the date of the construction of the mosque in words. Their calligraphy, which is beautiful *Nasta'liq*, is also in the same hand.

The first of these epigraphs, containing the name of the reigning emperor, appears over the central *mīhrāb*.<sup>2</sup> Inscribed on a slab measuring 86 by 48 cms., its text runs into three lines of Persian and mentions that the completion of the 'noble edifice' (i.e., the mosque) took place in the reign of emperor Akbar, for whom apart from most of the titles as were used in the previous epigraph, the title Sāhib Qurān is also used. There is no date, but as stated above, it was set up along with the other two records dated 1567-68.

The epigraph has been read as under —

## TEXT

## Plate XVII(b)

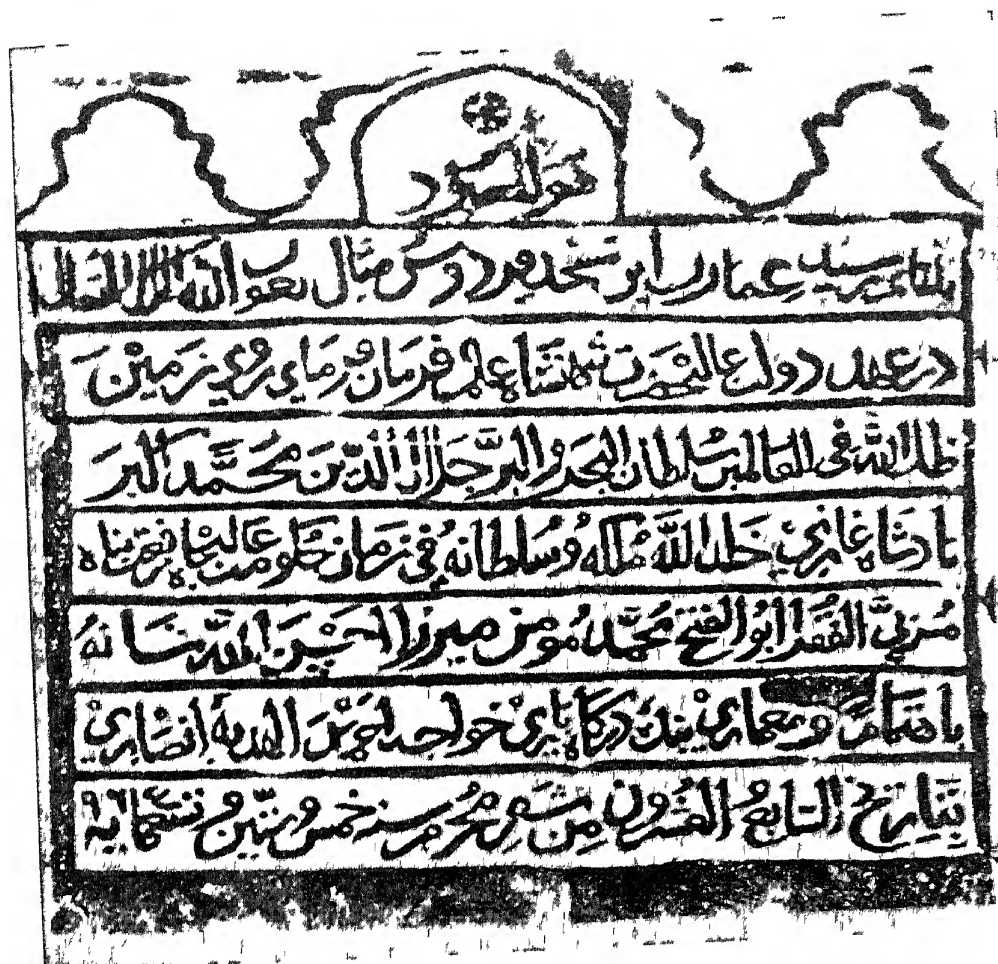
- (۱) این بنای سریف در اقام دولت صاحبقران اعظم مولا ملوک العرب و العجم  
(۲) حاوط بلاد الله ناصر عباد الله واسطة امن و امان السلطان بن السلطان بن  
(۳) السلطان الحافان بن الحافان ابوالمظفر حلال الدار محمد اکبر نادشاه

عاری امام نایب

<sup>1</sup> For the account of the history buildings and inscriptions of Jaunpur please see Fulcher *The Sharqī Architecture of Jaunpur (S 41)* ed. James Burgess (Calcutta, 1889) pp. 4-13, Percy Brown *Indian Architecture*, vol. II (Bombay, 1942), pp. 43-47. Muhammad Faṣīhū'd Dīn, *The Sharqī Monuments of Jaunpūr* (Allahabad, 1922); Munshī Nazirū'd Dīn, *Tarīkh-e Jaunpūr* in Urdu (Jaunpur, 1922), pp. 8-16. Iqbāl Ahmad, *Tarīkh-e Shīrāz-e Hind* in Urdu (Jaunpur, 1963), *EI 4PS* 1964 p. 12 (pl. IV b) etc.

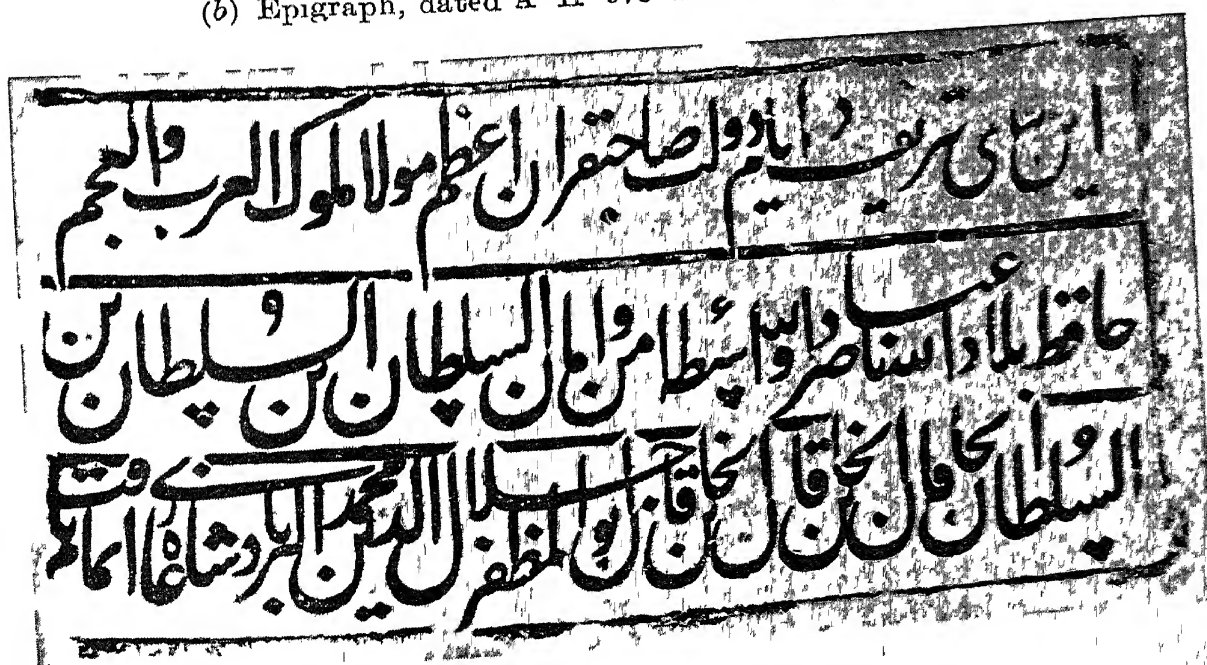
<sup>2</sup> *4RIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 352. Its reading published in Faṣīhū'd Dīn, *op cit*, p. 111, and Iqbāl Ahmad, *op cit*, p. 376, is faulty.

(a) Inscription, dated A H 965, from Bulandshahr (p 63)



SCALE 2

(b) Epigraph, dated A H 975 from Jaunpur (p 68)







TRANSLATION

(1) This noble building (mosque) in the days of the government of the great Sāhib Qirān (lit Lord of Conjunction), lord of the kings of Arabia and Persia,

(2) protector of the cities of Allāh and helper of His creatures, means of peace and security, the sultān, son of the sultān, son of

(3) the sultān, the Khāqān, son of the Khāqān son of the Khāqān, Abu'l-Muzaffar Jalālu'd-Dīn Muhammad Akbar Bīdshāh Gl īrī, was completed

This epigraph mentions neither the name of the builder of the mosque nor its date of construction. According to the other two complimentary epigraphs on the mosque, it was built in 1567-68 by Nawwāb Muhsin Khān

The large inscriptional tablet measuring 1.52 m. by 60 cms. which bears the second inscription from the mosque and the seventh of the group, is built into the wall above the right *mīhrāb*<sup>1</sup>. It comprises three Persian verses of sufficient literary merit, which are engraved in relief in six beautifully designed panels arranged in two lines. The record, apart from providing the additional information that the mosque was constructed on the site of an idol-house,<sup>2</sup> names Nawwāb Muhsin Khān as its builder and gives for its date a chronogram which works out to 1567-68. The ingenuity of the chronogram which proclaims the skill of its composer lies in the fact that the phrase comprising it mentions the monument and its builder—'mosque of Nawwāb Muhsin Khān'. The style of writing is *Nasta'liq* of the same beautiful type.

The text has been deciphered as follows —

TEXT

Plate XVIII(a)

گسب محراب عبادت ایں کشت	(۱) شکر کر توفیق ہے لامب
(۲) نابیس را صاحب منزل در نمسب	در حرای آں خداوند کریم
مسجد نواب محسن خان دوست	سال تاریخ بنائش کلک عقل

TRANSLATION

(1) Thanks that by the guidance of the Everlasting and the Living (Allāh), this house of infidelity became the niche of prayer (i.e., mosque)

As a reward for that, the Generous Lord

(2) constructed an abode for its builder in Paradise

The Pen of Reason wrote (the words) *the mosque of Nawwāb Muhsin Khān*, for the date of its construction

The phrase the 'mosque of Nawwāb Muhsin Khān' yields A. H. 975 (1567-68 A.D.).

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE* 1963-64 No. D 353. Also Faṣīhu'd-Dīn *op cit* p. 115 and Iqbāl Ahmad *op cit* p. 376

<sup>2</sup> According to Faṣīhu'd-Dīn, *op cit*, p. 45 the materials of the mosque were taken from those of the temple of Lachman Das. Diwan of Khan-i-Zaman Alī Quli Khan Akbar made over all the property of the Diwan to Nawab Muhsin Khan. Also see Iqbāl Ahmad, *op cit*, p. 375. Both the accounts seem to have been taken from M. Khairu'd-Dīn's *Jaunpur Nāma* (MS).

Before proceeding to the next epigraph, it may be pointed out that according to Fasīhu'd Dīn and Iqbāl Ahmad, Mir Muhammad Muhsin had 'died before the completion of the mosque which was done by his son'<sup>1</sup> But, for this statement there is no proof, the epigraph at least does not bear it out. What probably misled them (or very likely their original source) to come to this conclusion, is the reference in the text to the builder's having been granted abode in paradise. But that, it may be pointed out, is nothing else but a reference to the famous Tradition of the Prophet about the reward of constructing mosques — 'He who builds for Allah, a mosque, Allāh builds for him a house in Paradise'. Moreover, Muhammad Muhsin finds mention as builder in inscriptions set up later than A. H. 975, the date of completion of this mosque.<sup>2</sup>

The squarish tablet bearing the third inscription of the Hummām-Darwāza mosque and the eighth record of Akbar, appears above its left *mīhrāb*.<sup>3</sup> Measuring 50 by 52 cms, it contains a record of one line in Persian written in beautiful *Nasta'liq* characters similar to those in the previous epigraphs. Likewise, the text is beautifully arranged and executed in a panel decorated around its border by a pleasing geometrical design.

The epigraph records the date of completion of the building in words.

It reads as under —

#### TEXT

#### Plate XVIII(b)

ان بنی عالی بنارنج سہ صد و ہمتاد و پنج سال نام رسد

#### TRANSLATION

This lofty edifice was completed in the year nine hundred and seventy and five (A. H. 975=1567-68 A. D.)

It is surprising that practically nothing is known about Nawwāb Muhsin Khān, the builder of this mosque and several other edifices, from contemporary or later records. The title Nawwāb prefixed to his name clearly suggests that he was a man of high status in the region, probably holding *jāgīr* or a high post in the *sarkār* of Jaunpur, which was included in Akbar's time in the *suba* of Allāhābād. He has also to his credit, three more inscriptions, one at Jaunpur dated A. H. 984 and two at Akbarpur (now in Faizābād district but then in the Jaunpur *sarkār*), dated A. H. 976 and 977. But this identity is not certain. The compiler of the old district gazetteer speaks of him as having been in charge of the old *pargana* of Sanjhaulī in the time of Akbar, and also as having founded the town of Akbarpur,<sup>4</sup> for which statements no authority is quoted. But this is not to say that these statements are without any truth. The compiler of the gazetteer might have got his information about Muhsin Khān's *jāgīr*, etc., if not from historical works in manuscripts to which we have no access, from family documents or state records, locally obtainable. It is equally likely that the topographical position of Akbarpur and Sanjhaulī may have provided basis for these statements. Sanjhaulī is hardly a couple of kilometres away, towards south east from the centre of the town, and it must be in *pargana* Sanjhaulī only that Akbarpur town of

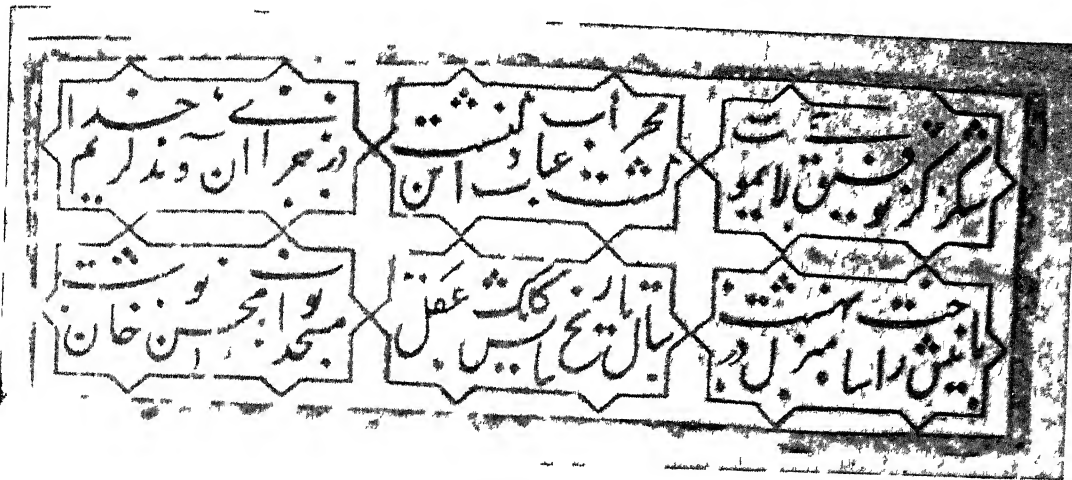
<sup>1</sup> Fasīhu'd Dīn *op cit* p. 45 Iqbāl Ahmad, *op cit* p. 375

<sup>2</sup> Inscription Nos IX X *infra*. As a matter of fact both Fasīhu'd Dīn, *op cit*, p. 118 and Iqbāl Ahmad, *op cit*, pp. 387-88 quote another inscription recording the construction of an edifice by him in A. H. 984.

ARIE 1963-64 No. D 354. Fasīhu'd Dīn, *op cit*, p. 114 and Iqbāl Ahmad, *op cit* p. 377

<sup>4</sup> DGUP vol. XLIII, Faizabad (Allahabad, 1928) p. 185.

(a) Record, dated A H 975, from Jaunpur (p 69)



SCALE 08

(b) Another record of the same date, same place (p 70)



SCALE 18

(c) Inscription, dated A H 968, from Agra (p 65)



SCALE 11



to day, when founded, must have been situated, for in Abu'l Fadl's account of the Jaunpur *sarkār*, only *paṅṅana* Sanjhauli is mentioned<sup>1</sup> Also, the maps show one Mohsinpur as one of the suburbs or very probably by now a locality—of Akbarpur, which also must owe its origin to Nawwāb Muhsin Khān.

Other modern works on the history and monuments of Jaunpur speak of Nawwāb Muhsin Khān as Dhu'l-Qadar - According to these, he was 'then taluqdar of Jaunpur' under Mun'im Khān, he had received from emperor Akbar all the property of Lachhman Dās, the Diwān of Khān Zaman, he had constructed the mosque in the house of Lachman Dās, which still exists under the name of Patthari kī-Havelī and his heirs flourished at Jaunpur until recently (and may be found there even now) He is also stated to have been an Afghān, was living first at Burhānpur then with 'Alī Wardī Khān at Ghāzipur-Banāras and was granted the title of Dhu'l-Qadar by Akbar and he subsequently became a favourite official of Mun'im Khān<sup>2</sup> For these statements no early authorities are quoted, but presumably then earliest source must be *Jaunpur Nāma* of Maulvi Khairu'd-Dīn<sup>3</sup>, which is not available to us It is therefore, difficult to say how far these statements are correct It is not unlikely, as in the case of the statement commented upon above—namely that the builder died before the mosque could be constructed—that the text of these epigraphs may have suggested these particulars about the property of a Hindu Diwān containing a temple being made over to Muhsin Khān As to the tribe name Dhu'l-Qadar or his being an Afghān, it may be pointed out that Muhsin Khān of our epigraph was a Sayyid, as the prefix Mīr used with his name in one of the epigraphs clearly shows

Now as far as the historical works available in print are concerned, we get mention only of one Muhsin Khān, who is stated in the annals of the year A H 971 to be a brother of the celebrated Shihābu'd-Dīn Ahmad Khān,<sup>4</sup> the latter, it may be recalled, belonged to a Sayyid family of Nishāpur He is probably the same Muhsin Khān who later on, in A H 982, participated in the Bengal expedition led by Khān-i-Khānān Mun'im Khān<sup>5</sup> These are the only two references we get about Muhsin Khān, and, coming as they do from contemporary Abu'l Fadl, and also in view of the fact that he was, though a few years after the date of our records, an auxiliary of Mun'im Khān, it is very likely that he is the Nawwāb of our records There was also one Mīr Muhsin Dā'i among the nobles of Humāyūn in about A H 961<sup>7</sup>, but whether he is identical with our Muhsin Khān, it is difficult to say

## IX-X INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A H 976 AND 977, FROM AKBARPUR

These two inscriptions recording almost the same purport were copied in 1963 by Shri Kadiri The earlier of the two appears on the northern parapet wall of the bridge over the Tons at Akbarpur in Faizabad district It does not mention the name of Akbar but his governor Mun'im Khān, the other epigraph mentions both

The town of Akbarpur is situated on the left bank of the Tons at a distance of about 60 kilometres from the district headquarters, and, as stated above, is believed to have been founded by

<sup>1</sup> Abu'l Fadl, 4A I p 348

Dhu'l-Qadar was a tribe of Turks

<sup>2</sup> Faḡihu'd-Dīn *op cit* p 45 Iqbāl Ahmad, *op cit* pp 270 375

<sup>3</sup> Iqbāl Ahmad, *op cit* p 270 who gives most of these details quotes a manuscript, *Taqallī : A'ūr Sūwarum*, as his source But he does not give details about this work

<sup>4</sup> Abu'l Fadl *AN* vol II p 206 Shihābu'd-Dīn Ahmad Khān was a Sayyid and not a Dhu'l-Qadar Turk.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, vol III, (Calcutta, 1886) p 123

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, vol I, 342

Nawwāb Muhammad Muhsin, ' who was in-charge of the old *panjāna* of Samjhauti in the time of Akbar <sup>1</sup> As a mint-town of the Mughals, it is familiar to the students of numismatics under the name Akbarpur-Tāndā It was very probably established by Akbar in whose reign the town is said to have been founded after his name <sup>2</sup>

The large tablet on which the record is inscribed is squarish, measuring 1.28 by 1.23 m. The text consists of five Persian couplets, arranged in ten panels and executed in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters, similar to those of the Jaunpur epigraphs. The present epigraph refers to the governorship of Nawwāb Mun'im and states that the bridge was constructed in 1568-69 by Mir Muhsin. The date is given both in figure as well as by a chronogram, which is in the case of its counterpart in the Jaunpur epigraph is ingenious in that it also gives the description of the monument along with the name of the builder.

The inscription reads as follows —

#### TEXT

#### Plate XX(a)

(۱) دوران نواب عالم ناه	که بود جهان را حر او مونس
(۲) محیط سجا دمع کاهکار	مدار رمی و امین رمی
(۳) جهان کرم میر محسن رصدی	موفی سد ار قادر دوالمنی
(۴) نبوفنی حق صاحب راسان یلی	که سد سده بر عقن راه سخن
(۵) خو برسد ار و صف و سانس نگو	بود حیر محسن لوحه حسن ۹۷۶

#### TRANSLATION

(1) In the time of the Nawwāb, the asylum of the world, except in whom the world has no custodian,

(2) (and who is) the ocean of generosity, (namely) the fortunate Mun'im (who is) the pivot of the earth and the trustee of the age,

(3) Mir Muhsin (who is) in fact world of generosity, was guided by the Powerful Lord of bounties (i.e., Allāh),

(4) and by the guidance of God, constructed such a bridge that the path of speech (i.e., description or criticism) is closed on Reason

(5) If they inquire about its description and the year (of construction) say, "The bountiful deed of Muhsin has been done in a beautiful way" (A. H.) 976 (1568-69 A. D.)

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE* 1963 64 No. D 316. The upper part of the tablet has been inscribed in more recent times with an epigraph in Urdu and English recording the remodelling of the bridge in A. H. 1311, 1894 A. D. (*ibid* No. D, 317). On the lower frieze occurs another inscription (*ibid* 1969 70 No. D, 239) composed by Nāziri in Persian verse and executed in *Nasta'liq* characters which records that Zuhūr Ahmad repaired the bridge of Muhsin in 1894 by the order of (name lost). Both these epigraphs may be seen in the plate.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest dates to be found on his coins from this mint are A. H. 970 in copper and 970 or 971 in silver. See R. B. Whitehead *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum Lahore*, vol. II (Oxford 1914), Nos. 602, 3, and 249, C. J. Brown, *Catalogue of coins in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow* (Oxford, 1920), No. 273.

The values of the letters of the last hemistich, according to the *Ajbad* system, when added, give the date which is also inscribed in figures at the end

The other inscription from Akbarpur is engraved on a tablet measuring 1 60 m, by 55 cms, which is built up above the northern *mihṛāb* of the *Shāhī-Masjid*, situated near the said bridge.<sup>1</sup> It comprises eight Persian couplets which are inscribed in *Nasta'liq* in four lines, each cut up into four panels. The writing is slightly damaged

This epigraph, as stated above, bears almost the same purport as the other one just described, with the additional information that a mosque was built along with the bridge. It records that the mosque and the bridge were constructed in 1569-70 in the reign of the emperor Akbar and during the governorship of Muhammad Mun'im by Muhammad Muhsin Khān, the date being attested by a chronogram as well as figures. This date, it will be observed, is later by one year than the date of the construction of the bridge. This should either mean that the bridge was constructed in the previous year *i.e.*, 1568-69 and the mosque in the following year or that the buildings were commenced in the first and completed in the second year. The first alternative appears to be nearer the truth.

The compiler of the old district gazetteer records A H 976 (1568-69) as the date of this epigraph, which is incorrect. Likewise, according to the same authority, 'the buildings are said to have been erected under the direction of the emperor himself, when he passed through the place on his return from Jaunpur to Agra'.<sup>2</sup> That the local belief, on which the statement seems to rest, does not seem to be well-founded is indicated by our epigraphs which do not mention any such thing.

The epigraph has been deciphered as under —

TEXT

Plate XIX(a)

(۱)	سکر کین مسجد و پل ساحه سد	در زمان سه حمید سنان
	شاه دین اکثر عاری که بود	نادساره همه کون و مکان
(۲)	حان حم فدر محمد معین	که چهارا سب ار و امن و امان
	کرد از دولت او این دو بنا	حان عالی سب عالی سنان
(۳)	حس الوحه محمد محسن	که بود سپهره المطف و احسان
	مهریان همه حلی حدای	کارمار همه حلی حسان
(۴)	چهدا کرد ملک در کارس	ناسد این هردو بنا آبادان
	شده تاریخ از آن سر چهد	مسجد و پل بود از محسن حان

۹۷۷

<sup>1</sup> *RIE*, 1963-64, No. D 318. There are two more inscriptions in the same mosque: one (*ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D 319), records the construction (reparation?) of the mosque in A H 1071 (1660-61 A D) by Muhammad Ja'far al-Husaini al-Māẓandarīni entitled Sa'adat Khān and the other refers to the repairs carried out in A H 1150 (1746 A D) by the great Khān Sayyid Akbar Yār Khān to the mosque originally built in the reign of emperor Akbar.

<sup>2</sup> *DGUP*, vol. XLIII, p. 186. The wrong date as well as the statement are repeated in the revised edition of the gazetteer (*Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers*, Faizabad (Allahabad, 1960), p. 48).



## TRANSLATION

(1) Thanks (are due to God) that this mosque and bridge were constructed in the reign of the king having the insignia of Jamshīd,

the king of Faith, Akbar the Ghāzī, who happens to be the monarch of the whole of the universe

(2) The Khān of Jam-like authority Muhammad Mun'im, on account of whom the world enjoys peace and security,

through his good fortune, these two edifices (i.e., the bridge and the mosque) were constructed by the Khān of noble lineage and lofty rank,

(3) Muhammad Muhsin, of noble demeanour, who is famous for kindness and generosity,

(who is) kind to every creature of God and attends to the work of the people of the world

(4) The Sky exerted itself in his work so that both these buildings could flourish (i.e., could be completed),

therefore, the date (of construction), from the head of exertion, came (to be contained in the words) *the mosque and the bridge are (built) by Muhsin Khān* (A H ) 977 (1569-70 A D )

The chronogram is contained in the last hemistich. But to obtain the date, 3, being the value of the letter *j* which is the first letter (head) of the word *jahd* (effort) has to be added to the numerical value 974 of the main chronogram, as is indicated in the last but one hemistich

Apart from Mīr Muhsin, the builder, the epigraphs mention the Jaunpur governor Mun'im Khān, who is too well known to need any details here <sup>1</sup>

It seems that the bridge was constructed whether under the emperor's order or not—for easy communications in the eastern region, since want of roads and bridges had caused much trouble to the imperial forces during the rebellion of Khān Zamān whom Mun'im Khān had succeeded in A H 975 <sup>2</sup>. The other bridge of that period which exists to-day was constructed by the orders of Mun'im Khān at Jaunpur itself <sup>3</sup>. Incidentally both the bridges have been mentioned by the seventeenth-century European travellers Finch and De-Laet <sup>4</sup>.

## XI-XII INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A H 978, FROM JAUNPUR

These two inscriptions from Jaunpur are quite important. They were also copied by Shīr Kādirī in 1963. One of these records is undated but there is little doubt that both belong to the same date. They are not only written in the same calligraphic style, but also convey the same purport. The study of the dated epigraph is taken up first

<sup>1</sup> For details of his career see Shāh Nawāz Khān *op cit* vol I (Calcutta, 1888) pp 635-45 Blochmann, *op cit*, pp 333-34.

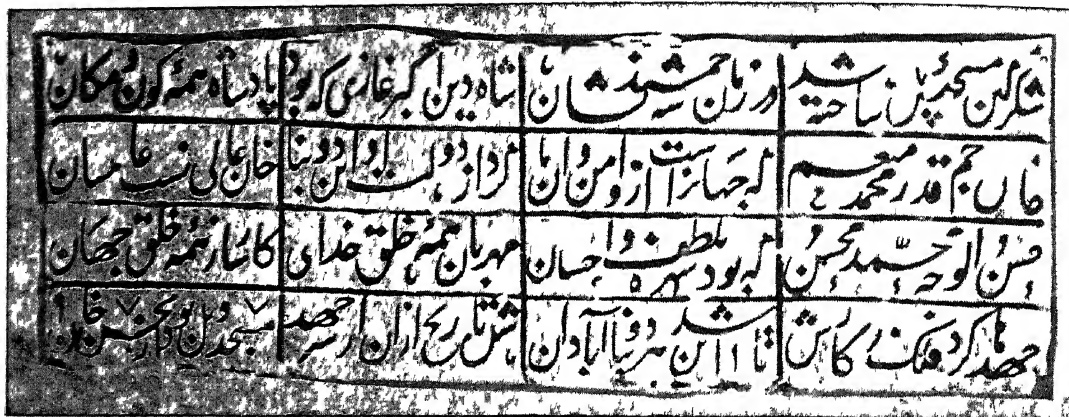
<sup>2</sup> Abul Fadl vol II p 298 Dr R P Tripathi, *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire* (Allahabad 1956), p 179, A L Srivastava *Akbar the Great* (Agra 1962), pp 110-11

<sup>3</sup> Führer S 4 J, *op cit* p 17, where a detailed description of the great bridge and its six inscriptions will be found. Also see Faḡih ud Din *op cit*, pp 38-41, 110-114, Iqtāl Ahmad, *op cit*, pp 365-66

<sup>4</sup> William Foster, *Early Travels in India* (Oxford, 1921), p 176 De Laet, *Empire of the Great Mogul* (Bombay, 1928) p 65

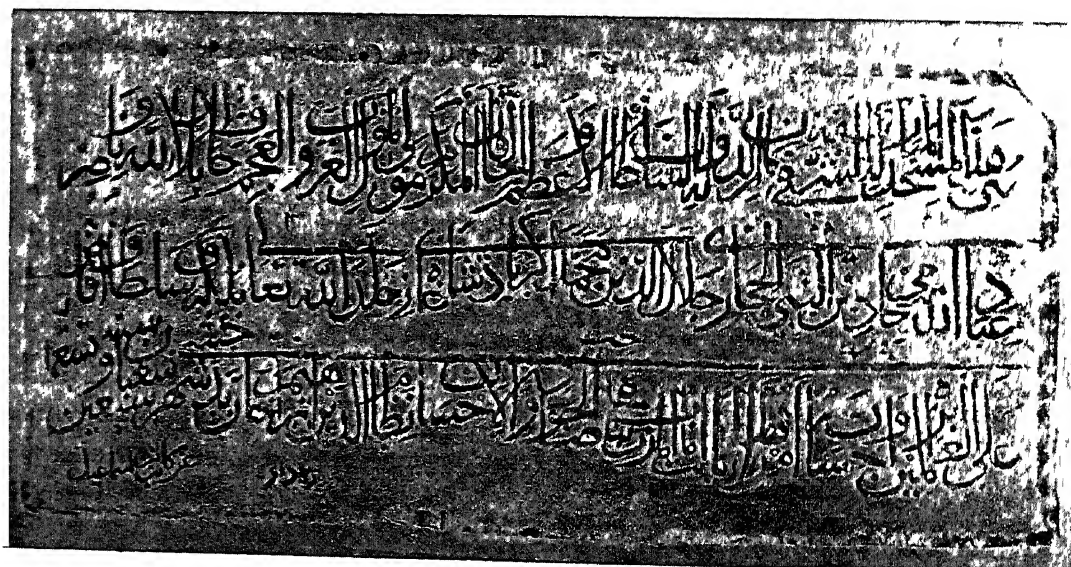


(a) Epigraph, dated A H 977, from Akbarpur (p 73)



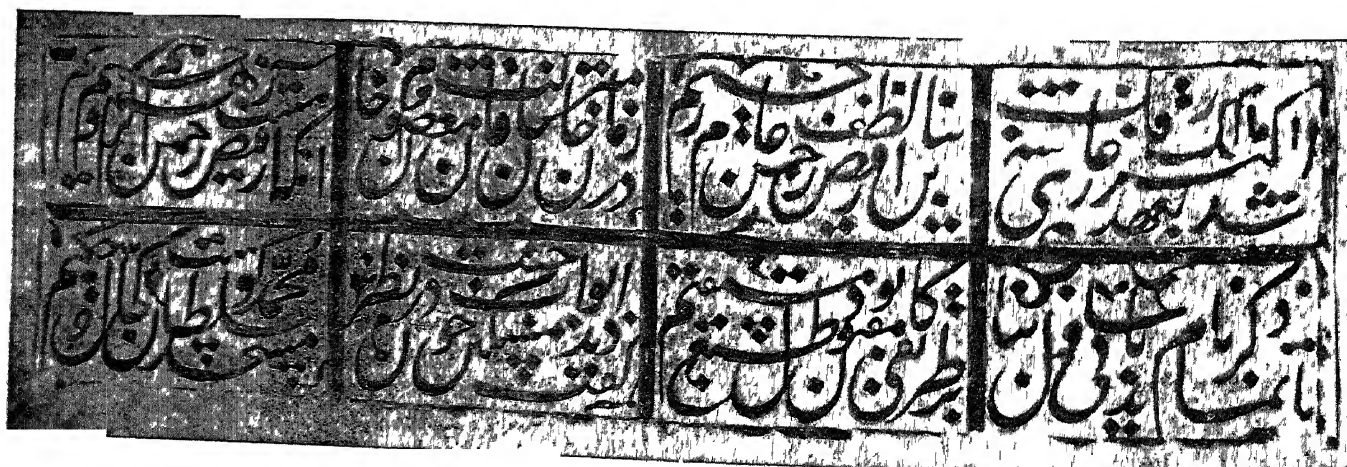
SCALE 08

(b) Inscription, dated A H 970, from Sakit (p 67)



SCALE 09

(c) Record, dated A H 978, from Jaunpur (p 75)



SCALE 104

The epigraphical tablet measuring 1 45 m by 43 cms is fixed above the northern *mahrāb* of a mosque situated on the northern bank of the Gomti near the great bridge <sup>1</sup> It is cut into four panels, arranged in two horizontal lines, and each panel contains a Persian verse These four Persian couplets are inscribed in elegant *Nasta'liq* style, which is similar to the one employed in the three inscriptions of Jaunpur, studied above

The metrical text is composed by one Miskīn and states that the mosque was built by Sultān Muhammad, the physician and oculist (*halīm* and *kahhāl*), in 1570 71, at the time when the 'Khān of Khāqān-like position' Ma'sūm Khān was in authority, the reigning monarch being Akbar

It has been deciphered as follows —

TEXT

Plate XIX(c)

(۱) شد نعمت اکر عاری سه مالک دواب	اس بنا ار فیض لطف عام رحمن رحیم
در زمان حال حاقان مبرلت معصوم حال	انکه هست ار فیض رحمن هم رحیم و هم کریم
(۲) با نماید ذکر نام نای و سال بنا	بر طریقی کان بود معقول طبع مستقیم
گفت مسکین دند چون ابواب حب در نظر	مسجد سلطان محمد کوسب کحال و حکیم

TRANSLATION

(1) By the bounty of the universal favour of the Most Merciful and Beneficent (Allāh), this building was constructed in the reign of Akbar, the Ghāzī, the king who is master of the necks (of people),

and in the time of the Khān of Khāqān-like position (namely), Ma'sūm Khān who is, by the grace of the Merciful (Allāh), both merciful and generous

(2) With a view that the mention of the name of the builder and the year of the construction may remain (in the world) in such a way as may appeal to the mind of the upright people,

Miskīn, when he saw the gates of the Paradise before his eyes, said, " (It is) the mosque of Sultān Muhammad who is the *kahhāl* (lit oculist) and *hakīm* (physician) "

The last hemistich constitutes the chronogram which works out to A H 978 (1570 71 A D )

Ma'sūm Khān, mentioned in the record as the governor of Jaunpur, is none other than Ma'sūm Khān Faran Khūdī, a wellknown nobleman of Akbar <sup>2</sup>

This epigraph is historically quite important as it provides information on the status of Jaunpur in at least about 1570 71, the date of the record It is to be noted that contemporary historians including Abu'l Fadl, not only do not mention the exact date and year of Ma'sūm Khān's appointment as governor of Jaunpur, but their account of the political status of Jaunpur at this period is quite confused The date of Mun'im Khān's transfer from Jaunpur, for example, is now-

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1963 64, No D, 355, A short description of the mosque as well as a brief notice or reading of the inscription will be found in *DGUP*, vol XXVIII (Allahabad 1908), p 247, *Fasīḥ d Dm*, *op cit*, pp 42, 100, Iqbāl Ahmad *op cit* p 378

<sup>2</sup> For details of his career please see *Shah Nawaz Khān*, *op cit*, vol III (Calcutta, 1891), pp 246-49; Blochmann *op cit*, p 492,

here specifically mentioned. Abul-Fadl's account seems to indicate that Mun'im Khān was in Jaunpur at least until the beginning of A H 978, for we hear of his coming to Fatehpur Sikri from Jaunpur, some time towards the end of Muharram or beginning of the following month of A H 978 to pay respects to Akbar as well as to offer congratulations on the birth of Prince Murād<sup>1</sup>. He was permitted to leave on the 22nd Rabi' II of the same year,<sup>2</sup> to settle the affairs of the eastern region,<sup>3</sup> by which it is evidently meant that he was shifted from Jaunpur to further east to facilitate prompt and concerted action against Sulaimān Karrānī who was then master of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. It must be at this time that Ma'sūm Khān Fānkhudī must have been appointed in his place at Jaunpur.

Ma'sūm Khān seems to have continued, with or without interruption, at Jaunpur until about 12th Dhu'l-Qa'da 987, on which day he was replaced by Tarsūn Muhammad Khān<sup>4</sup>. In the midst of the commotion created by the rebellion of Ma'sūm Khān Kābulī, he deserted the royal army and forcibly took Jaunpur from the men of his successor. He was ultimately pardoned and given Audh in *tuyūl*. After continued insurgencies during which he once more tried, without success, to surprise Jaunpur, he died in the 27th regnal year<sup>5</sup>.

As regards Sultān Muhammad, builder of the mosque and Miskīn, the composer of the poetic Fragment, we have no information. Abu'l-Fadl mentions quite a few persons of the time of Humāyūn and Akbar who bore the name Sultān Muhammad,<sup>6</sup> but none of them as physician or occultist, and moreover, their designations and other particulars proclaim them to be different from our man. Sultān Muhammad seems to have specialised in the eye-diseases, but he does not find mention in the list of physicians of Akbar's period, given by Abu'l-Fadl, Badāyūnī or Nizāmud Dīn Ahmad.

In a modern work, however, the Hakīm is stated to have been practising at Āgrā whence he was brought to Jaunpur by Mun'im Khān to practice as a state physician, he however returned to Āgrā after some time, as some official pointed out the mounting expenditure on free-medicines incurred by him, etc.<sup>7</sup> But unfortunately, no authority for this account has been quoted, which can reasonably lead one to dismiss it as nothing more than a flourish of the pen of an imaginative writer.

In any case, the information contained in the epigraph is important both from the literary and historical points of view.

Similarly, Abu'l-Fadl mentions Miskīn Quchīn and Miskīn Tarkhān,<sup>8</sup> but these also do not appear to be identical with Miskīn, the composer of the epigraph. Nor does the name of Miskīn find mention in the list of poets of Akbar's court or time, given in the works of the above-mentioned historians.

The other inscription from the mosque is carved on a slab measuring 1.07 m. by 42 cms. which is fixed above the central *mīhrāb*.<sup>9</sup> Its two-line text comprises one Persian Quatrain, inscribed

<sup>1</sup> Abu'l-Fadl, *AN*, vol II, p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* It may be mentioned that modern historians like Vincent Smith and A. L. Sīvastava, who have exclusively dealt with the reign of Akbar have not taken notice of this.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol III, p. 281.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 321, 329-32, 338-348, 370-71, 376, 390. Also Shāh Navāz Khān, *op cit.*, vol III, pp. 246-49. Blochmann, *op cit.*, p. 492.

<sup>5</sup> Abu'l-Fadl, *AN*, vol I, pp. 224, 254, 259, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Iqbāl Ahmad, *op cit.*, pp. 377, 492.

<sup>7</sup> Abu'l-Fadl, *AN*, vol II, pp. 185, 362.

<sup>8</sup> *ARIE*, 1963-64, No D, 356. Faṣīhu d Dīn, *op cit.*, pp. 44, 110, Iqbāl Ahmad, *op cit.*, p. 372.





(a) Epigraph, dated A H 976, from Akbarpur (p 72)



SCALE 09

(b) Inscription from Jaunpur (p 77)



SCALE 14

in four panels arranged in two lines, and conveys the same purport, namely that the *Hakīm* had constructed the mosque in the reign of Akbar

The style of writing is *Nasta'liq* of no particular merit

The text runs as follows —

TEXT

Plate XX (b)

(۱) فیصی کہ ر لا الہ الا [اللہ] مس از فصل محمد رسول اللہ مس  
(۲) این مسجد عالی کہ بنا کرد حکیم آثار زمان عدل اکبر ساء مس

TRANSLATION

(1) The bounty which (a believer enjoys) from 'There is no god but Allāh'<sup>1</sup> is due to the grace of 'Muhammad is the Prophet of Allāh'<sup>2</sup>

(2) This lofty mosque which the *Hakīm* has built is the relic of the just reign of king Akbar

XIII INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H 981, FROM BUDĀUN

The tablet bearing this inscription measures 73 by 38 cms and is built up into a niche in the southern wall of the *dālān* of the Tomb of Hadrat Badrū'd-Dīn *Shāh* Wilāyat at Budāun Maulvī Radīu'd-Dīn was the first to publish its eye-reading in his *Kanzu't-Tārīkh*—an extremely valuable gazetteer of Budāun in Urdu<sup>3</sup> but his reading suffers, quite understandably, from inaccuracies It was copied by Dr Z A Desāi in 1960

The text of this inscription runs into two lines of Arabic and is executed in *Thulth* characters The object of the inscription which was written by Husan *Khān*, is to record the beautification of 'the *Shamsī* building' and the garden by Mirzā Muhammad, son of Walī *Shāh* in 1573-74 While it is quite likely that the epigraph is not *in situ*, it is difficult to say what exactly is meant by 'the *Shamsī* building' that is to say the building constructed by the Mamlūk ruler *Shamsu'd-Dīn* Iltut-mish (1211-36) It may be recalled that this monarch had built a number of buildings here, of which the extant buildings of note, which have no doubt undergone extensive repairs at subsequent periods, are the *Jāmi'* mosque and the 'Īdgāh The proximity of the last-mentioned building to the site of the present record, may suggest the possibility of its beautification and laying out of a garden there But it is equally likely that the epigraph pertained to a monument which has since disappeared

<sup>1</sup> This constitutes the first half of the First Creed

<sup>2</sup> This forms the second half of the same Creed

<sup>3</sup> Radīu'd Dīn, *Kanzu't Tārīkh* (Budaun, 1907), pp 49 50 For references to the history and account of the historical remains of the town, see A Cunningham, *op cit*, vol XI (Calcutta, 1890), pp 1 11, *DGUP* vol VI, Budaun (Allahabad, 1907), pp 131 62, 183 96 Führer, *op cit*, pp 21 23 etc Inscriptions of Budāun have been listed in *ARIE*, 1960 61 Nos D, 221 50 and some of them published in *EIM*, 1911 12, p 22, *ibid*, 1913 14, pp 30 31, *EIAPS*, 1964, pp 7, 19, *ibid*, 1965, pp 11 18, *ibid*, 1966, pp 14, 18, *ibid*, 1967, pp 33-35, 40, etc.



The text reads as under —

TEXT

Plate XXI(c)

(١) في زمان السلطان العادل حلال الدين محمد اكبر ناساه عارے  
 ٢ لاین عماره الشمسی و الحدیقه منبرا محمد ابن ساه ولی حرره حسین حال سنه ٩٨١

TRANSLATION

(1) In the time of the just king Jalālu'd-Dīn Muhammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzī,

(2) the Shamsī building and the garden were beautified by Mīrza Muhammad son of Wālī Shāh Written by Husain Khān (in the) year (A H ) 981 (1573-74 A.D )

None of the persons mentioned in the epigraph, the person who beautified the building and laid out a garden, namely Mīrza Muhammad, his father Wālī Shāh and the scribe Husain Khān can be satisfactorily identified The possibility that the first mentioned may have been an official of Akbar, posted at Budāun or its neighbourhood, cannot be ruled out As a matter of fact, Abu'l Faḍl mentions one Mīrza Muhammad who held the rank of four hundred <sup>1</sup> But it is not certain whether he is the one

XIV INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 981, FROM AMROHĀ

This inscription from Amrohā, in Morādābād district, was copied by Shri Kādirī in 1962,<sup>2</sup> and is carved on a large slab measuring 30 cms by 1 53 m which is built into the south wall of Shaikh Saddo's mosque <sup>3</sup> Its text as supplied by Gangā Parshād, then Deputy Collector, Morādābād, was first published with its English translation by Blochmann, but the reading particularly in the last verse being slightly faulty, Blochmann was misled in the calculation of the date As he could not properly understand the indication of subtraction as contained in the same verse, the chronogram for the date was worked out to yield the date A H 980 Also, the reading supplied to Blochmann did not contain the date figure or the name of the scribe and the composer

What strikes most about this epigraph is the arrangement of its text, which is written in slanting and not horizontal panels as is usually the case It is also sufficiently important both from the historical and literary points of view On one hand, it provides epigraphical memento of a famous learned man and judge of Akbar's time, and on the other, it adds one more name to the list of the poets and calligraphists of Akbar's reign

The main record consists of six couplets of Persian verse There is in the beginning the formulae *Allāhu Akbar*, while the date in figure and the name of the composer and the writer one

<sup>1</sup> Abu'l Faḍl, *AA*, vol I, p 228 Blochmann, *op cit*, p 552 and also p 399

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1962 63, No D, 295

<sup>3</sup> Shaikh Saddo to whom the mosque is now ascribed is a legendary figure of the middle ages For him and a description of the mosque, which is architecturally not without merit, see *DGUP*, vol XVI, Moradabad (Allahabad, 1911), pp 141 70

The mosque also bears a Mamlūk record dated A H 686, of the time of Kaiqubād (*EIM*, 1913 14, pp 32 33, where, however, the builder's name is wrongly read as Bal'ambar instead of 'Ambar)

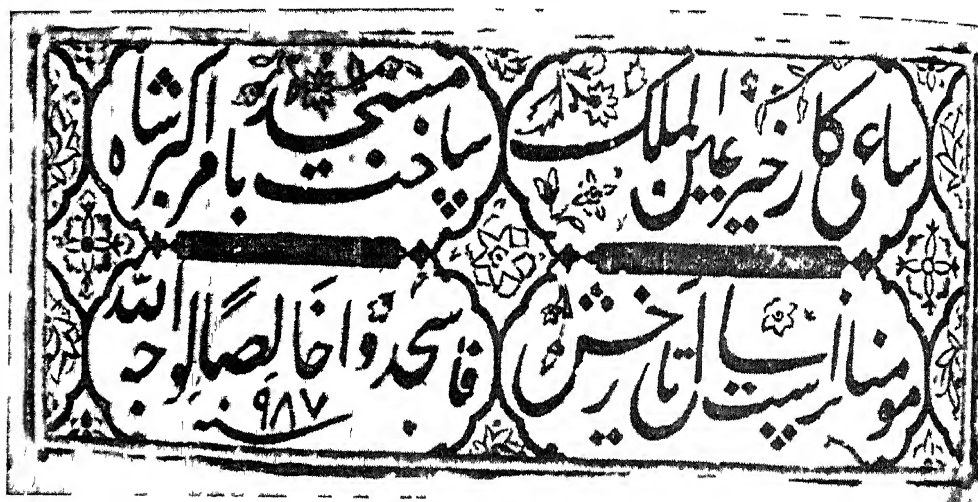


(a) Inscription, dated A H 981, from Amrohā, (p 79)



SCALE 11

(b) Epigraph, dated A H 987, from Bareilly (p 83)



SCALE 12

(c) Inscription, dated A H 981, from Budāon (p 78)



SCALE 18

Ārifī, occur at the end. It states that Sayyid Muhammad who is described as the glorifier of the religion of Prophet Muhammad and an Amīr who is the asylum of people, constructed a Jāmī' mosque in Amrohā in 1573-74. The date is also obtained by a chronogram. The style of writing employed, except for the religious formulae in the first line which is executed in *Nasta'liq*, is *Nasta'liq* of a fairly good order. The quality of verse is also quite good.

It has been read as under —

TEXT

Plate XXI(a)

(۱) اللہ اکبر

مدار ملک و ملل ناساہ ظل اللہ	(۲) نعهد اکبر عاری حلال دوست و دین
سارہ بندہ فرمان اوسبے اکراہ	(۳) زمانہ خادم درگاہ اوسبے نکلیف
معر دین محمد امیر خلق نساہ	(۴) بنا نمود در امروہہ مسجد جامع
کہ وصف او سدہ اوراد خلق ننگہ و گاہ	(۵) سپہر مرتبہ سید محمد عادل
حواب داد رواں مصرعی حوس و دلخواہ	(۶) دلم چو نکتہ نارنجس از حرد پر سند
نساہ مبر عدالت پناہ [ہ] عالنجاہ	(۷) مگورهای احقر و نگوی نارنجس

(۸) سنہ ۹۸۱

(۹) قابلہ و کاندہ

(۱) عارفے

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is great

(2) In the reign of Akbar, the *Ghāzī*, *Jalāl-i-Dawlat wa Dīn* (lit. the glory of the state and the religion), the pivot of the country and communities, the king who is the Shadow of Allāh—

(3) Time is a sincere servant of his court, and the Star (of destiny) carries out his orders without any hesitation

(4) the glorifier of the religion of (Prophet) Muhammad, the nobleman in whom the people seek refuge, constructed a Jāmī' mosque in Amroha

(5) (He is) Sayyid Muhammad, the just of heaven-like status whose virtues are repeatedly sung by the people on all occasions

(6) When my heart asked for the subtlety of its date from Wisdom, it gave a quick reply (in the form of) a fluent hemistich, pleasing to the heart, namely,

(7) 'Do not take into account (lit utter) the last *hā'* and utter for its date (these words it is) *an edifice built by the asylum of justice, the Mir of lofty dignity*

(8) Year (A H ) 981 (1573-74 A D )

(9) Composed and written by

(10) 'Ārifī

The numerical value of the letters of the last hemistich adds up to 986 from which the value of the letter *hā'*—5 is to be deducted. This gives us A H 981, which is also inscribed in figure and not A H 980 as calculated by Blochmann<sup>1</sup>. The latter was misled due to the fact that the first word in the last hemistich comprising the chronogram was read as *علا* instead of *لا* in the reading supplied to him with the result that the total value of the chronogram came to 996 from which, if he were to deduct only 5, being the value of the last *hā'* (*hā'*), the date would have been A H 991, seven years after the death of the Mir. Therefore, Blochmann thought that it was not the numerical value of one letter *hā'*, but of all the letters *h*, *a* and *i* which denominate the sound—totaling 16 which has to be deducted.

Sayyid Muḥammad of Amrohā, the builder of the Tīmī' mosque was the *Mīr*, 'Adl (Chief Justice), held the rank of 900 horse and was for two years until his death in A H 984<sup>2</sup> governor of Bhakkar in Sind<sup>3</sup>. He was renowned among his contemporaries for learning and erudition. At least three of his sons and one nephew find place in Abu'l-Fadl's list of rank-holders under Akbar<sup>4</sup>.

'Ārifī the poet and calligrapher, is an obscure person.

## XV INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 985, FROM ĀZAMPUR

This interesting and unpublished inscription was first copied by Maulvi Muḥammad Shu'āib mentioned above. It was recopied by Shri Siddiqī in 1964.

The epigraphical tablet measuring 1 24 m. by 28 cms is fixed above the middle opening of the eastern wall of the tomb of Tālib Khān at Āzampur<sup>5</sup>. Locally called Hazīra, it is situated to the east of the Tomb of the celebrated saint Shāh 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār. The Hazīra is now a roofless square structure and has fallen in ruins, but it seems to have been originally beautified by a garden all around, the remains of which can still be seen.

The record is of historical importance as it forms the epitaph of a person who is described as a benevolent governor, but whose association with Āzampur or its neighbourhood, as an official or otherwise, is not recorded in any historical work. Therefore, this epigraphical evidence in respect of administrative history of the place is not without interest.

The text of the epigraph is composed of two distinct parts. One comprises the famous Quranic text, the *Āyatul' Kursī*, and the other is in Persian prose and verse. But the arrangement of these is somewhat confusing. The religious text is inscribed in *Thulth* and the Persian

<sup>1</sup> P 4SB 1873 p 101

<sup>2</sup> Badāyūnī *Muntakhabu t Tawarīkh*, vol III (Calcutta, 1869) p 76, gives A H 986

<sup>3</sup> Abu'l Fadl, AA, vol I, pp 226, 234. Badāyūnī, *op cit*, vol III, pp 75, 76, Nizāmu'd Dīn, *op cit* p 384

<sup>4</sup> Abu'l Fadl 44, vol I pp 228 (No 251), 229 (No 297), 230 (Nos 363 64)

<sup>5</sup> ASIUP, 1911 12, p 68 No 22 of Appendix E

<sup>6</sup> PIE, 1964 65, No D, 380





(a) Inscription, dated A H 985, from Āzampur (p 81)



SCALE 18

(c) Inscription, dated A H 1013, from Kālpi (p 85)



(b) Record, dated A H 1005,  
'from Bulandshahr (p 84)



SCALE 18

portion in *Nasta'liq*, both quite beautiful, but lack of symmetrical arrangement and want of proper attention to size of letters and their appropriate spacing and alignment, detract from its otherwise calligraphical effect

The prose portion of the Persian version is incomplete in that there is no verb, as it is, it refers to the reign of Akbar—for whom here also the title of *Sāhib Qirān* (see p 68, *supra*) has been used—and to the tomb as that of *Tālib Knān*. The composition is somewhat clumsy, but the sense that it was constructed in the reign of the emperor can be easily made out. The metrical portion of the Persian text consists of two couplets and records 1577-78 as the date of the *Khān*'s death in a chronogram, also supported by figures and refers to him not by his name but by the honorific titles as benefactor of the age and a benevolent ruler or governor (*hākīm*). A couple of words below this portion cannot be made out. At the end occurs the name *Abdu'l-Halīm* whose connection with the event or the epigraph is not specified, but he may be the composer of the text, if the conjectural reading of the unintelligible words happens to be correct.

The text has been deciphered as follows —

TEXT

Plate XXII(a)

(a) Top panel

(i) Right side

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاحده سنة و لا يوم له ما في السموات و ما في الارض من شئ الذي يسمع عنده الا ناديه يعلم ما بين ايديهم و ما خلفهم

(ii) Left side

- (۱) در عهد خسرو فلک امداد سائے عاطف پروردگار صاحب فراں
- (۲) قائم مقام سلیمان سلطان سکندر شاه حلال الدن
- (۳) محمد اکبر بادشاه جلد الله ملکه روضه منوره المعبر الى الله
- (۴) الممان دره نیمقدار طالب حان نور الله مرفده

(b) Lower panel

(i) Right side.

و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه الا بما شاء و سع كرمه السموات و الارض و لا يوده  
حفظهما و هو اعلى العظیم



(ii) Left side

- (۱) صدوای صد درج که محس زان برب      لیکن از ن سرای فنا در حنا برب  
 (۲) باریح فوب او حو طلب کردم از حنا      گفنا که وای حاکم محس حنا برب  
 (۳) اراندو (۴)      ۹۸۵      عند الحلیم

## TRANSLATION

(a) ۱ Part of Throne Verse (*Qur'ān*, Chapter II, part of Verse 255)

ii (1) In the reign of the king, having the authority of the sky, the shadow of the kindness of the Nourisher Allāh, the Sāhib Qurān,

(2) successor of King Solomon, the king having the dignity of Alexander, Jalālu d-Dīn,

(3) Muhammad Akbar Bādshāh, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom ! (This) illuminated tomb (is) of one who is dependent upon Allāh

(4) the Obliging, the insignificant particle Tālib Khān, may Allāh illumine at his grave

(b) ۱ Remain ۳, part of Throne Verse

ii (1) Hundreds of woes and hundreds of grief that the benefactor of the age has departed, however, he has gone to heaven from this transitory abode (i.e. the world)

(2) When I asked for the date of his death from Heaven, it said, 'Woe that the benevolent ruler (*hākīm*) of the world is gone'

(3) By Indū (?) (A H ) 985 (1577-78 A D ) Composed by the slave (?) 'Abdu'l-Halīm

The chronogram contained in the last hemistich gives the date, which is also inscribed in figures

Practically nothing is known about Tālib Khān who is described as a benevolent ruler. In Abu'l-Faḍl's annals, mention is made of one Tālib Khān, who was one of the auxiliaries in the Imperial forces under Mun'im Khān and his successor during 1575-76<sup>1</sup>. On two other occasions, Abu'l-Faḍl mentions in the same connection and with almost the same auxiliaries in Bengal army, Tālib Baig and Tālib Badakhshī. But from the context, all the three appear to be one and the same person. In one of these, Tālib Badakhshī is stated to be a son of Khwāja Ibrāhīm Badakhshī, mentioned in the Sakit inscription (No V, *supra*). It is not unlikely that Tālib Khān of our record is this person.

About 'Abdu'l Halīm who seems to have been the composer of the epigraph, we have no information.

## XVI INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 987, FROM BAREILLY

This beautifully executed inscription forms the earliest extant Muslim record from Bareilly city, headquarters of the district of the same name. Its reading was first published along with an English translation by Mr Blochmann, from the reading (or rubbing) sent to him in 1871 by Mr A. S. Harison of the Bareilly College. Blochmann in his brief note also identified

<sup>1</sup> Abu'l Faḍl AA, vol III, p 118

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p 182

Amu'l Mulk mentioned in the record and referred for further details about him to his English translation of the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*<sup>1</sup>

The epigraphical tablet measures 1.05 m by 40 cms and is fixed over the central opening of the facade of the historical Mīrzā'ī-Masjid in the Mīrzā ī-Mahalla of the old city<sup>2</sup>. It contains a two-line text comprising two Persian verses, which are inscribed in four panels, two to each line, beautifully decorated with floral designs. The style of writing is equally elegant *Nasta'liq*. The record states that 'Amu'l Mulk built the mosque by the order of the emperor in 1579-80. The date is given in a chronogram as well as in figures.

The text reads as follows —

TEXT

Plate XXI(b)

(۱) ساعی کار حیر عین الملک  
 صاحب مسجد نامر اکبر سه  
 (۲) مومنانرا سب سال نایحس  
 سجودا حالصا وحه لله  
 ۹۸۰

TRANSLATION

(1) The striver for (this) act of bounty, 'Amu'l Mulk, constructed the mosque by the order of Akbar Shāh

(2) The year of its date is (contained in the instructions) to the believers *Prostrate yourself exclusively for the sake of Allāh*

Year (A. H.) 987 (1579-80 A.D.)

The builder is none other than Hakīm 'Amu'l Mulk, an accomplished physician, learned man and poet, who is too celebrated a figure to need any further introduction. Nevertheless, it is rather surprising that not much about his life and career is known<sup>3</sup>. In the recorded events of his career, no specific date has been mentioned about his appointment in the Bareilly region, but it is generally believed to have taken place immediately or some time after his return from the embassy to Bijāpur. This was some time in the middle of July 1577. In any case he must have been appointed at Bareilly some time in or before 1579-80, the date of our epigraph.

Blochmann speaks of his appointment as Faujdār of Sambhal<sup>4</sup> which does not seem to be correct. For Shāh Nawāz Khān who is his main source mentions the place of appointment as 'boundaries (*hudūd*) of Sambhal'. The fact is that he was appointed as the Faujdār of Bareilly, and Abu'l Fādl specifically thus designates him when he successfully foiled the attempt on the Bareilly fort made by 'Arab Bahādur and other Bengal rebels who had created disturbances in

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* vol. XL (1871) p. 261. For the history of Bareilly see *DGLP*, vol. VIII, Bareilly (Allahabad 1911) pp. 145-180.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIÉ* 1964-65, No. D, 346. Another Persian inscription over this epigraph records the reconstruction of the mosque by Haqdīd Khān in 1750-51 (*ibid.* No. D, 34).

<sup>3</sup> For an account of his life and career, see Shāh Nawāz Khān *op cit* vol. I, pp. 562-63. Blochmann, *op cit* p. 537. Nizāmu'd Din *op cit*, p. 395. Badāyūnī, *op cit*, vol. III, pp. 164-65, 230-32.

<sup>4</sup> Blochmann, *op cit*

the confines of Sambhal, this was some time in March 1581<sup>1</sup>. He seems to have continued at Bareilly until October of the same year, when he was made the Sadr of Bengal<sup>2</sup>.

### XVII INSCRIPTION, DATED A H 1005, FROM BULANDSHAHR

The last but one inscription of this article is to be seen on the main entrance of the Tomb of Bahlūl Shāh at Bulandshahr,<sup>3</sup> from which town an earlier epigraph of Akbar's reign has been studied above (No. II, *supra*). It was copied by Shih K'ūnī.

The epigraphical tablet measuring 40 by 36 cms. contains a four-line text in Persian executed in Naskh characters and purporting that the building of the tomb of Miẓān Bahlūl Bahlīm was completed in 1597 in the reign of Akbar at the cost of seventeen thousand and fifty *tankas*. The name of the supervisor of the construction is also given at the end of the text, but the letters in that part being slightly affected and also somewhat crowded, the name does not admit of perfect decipherment. It seems to read as *Sālār*, a servant of Miẓān Imād Bahlīm.

The text has been deciphered as under —

LENT

#### Plate XXII(b)

(۱) در عهد حلال الدین محمد اکبر ناساہ عاری  
 (۲) عمارت معمره اراں میان بھلولخان بھلیم  
 (۳) مرتب شد سہر دی الحج مورخاً سنہ الف خمس ۵۰  
 (۴) مبلغ ہندہ ہزار بیجاہ دیکہ کارفرماں سالار بوکر میان عماد بھلیم

#### TRANSLATION

- (1) In the reign of Jalālu'd Dīn Muhammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzī,
- (2) the building of the tomb of Miẓān Bahlūl Khān Bahlīm,
- (3) was completed (in the) month of Dhu'l Hijja, dated in the year one thousand and five (A H) 1005 (July August 1597 A D),
- (4) (at the cost of) a sum of seventeen thousand and fifty *tankas*, under the supervision of *Sālār*, a servant (?) of Miẓān Imād Bahlīm.

It is difficult to identify Miẓān Bahlūl Khān Bahlīm who is interred in the tomb. From the honorific epithet Miẓān affixed to his name, he appears to have been a man of status, but his name is missing from the list of important officials given in contemporary historical works. Badāy-ūnī, no doubt, mentions in the list of contemporary learned men one 'Shukh Bahlūl of Delhi, who was well versed in the science of Tradition,<sup>4</sup> but he seems to be deficient. Of the other

<sup>1</sup> Abu'l Fadl, *AN*, vol. III, p. 348.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 372. Also Blochmann, *op cit*, but he merely gives the regnal years. The Gregorian equivalents of the month of the year are based on the almost exact dates given by Abu'l Fadl.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D 259.

<sup>4</sup> Badāyūnī, *op cit*, vol. III, p. 113.

persons mentioned in the text too, Miẓīn 'Imād, who seems to be his son and Šālār who was in all probability attached to the latter, nothing is known

The epigraph is nevertheless quite important. Apart from providing material for the correct identification of the tomb, it supplies another piece of information, which we do not generally come across. The expenditure incurred on the tomb is recorded in the epigraph. A total amount of 17050 *tanlas* is stated to have been spent on the construction.

### XVIII INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1013, FROM KĀLPI

The last inscription of the group, a damaged record from Kālpī, was copied by Shri Siddiqī in 1961. It is inscribed on a tablet measuring 45 by 23 cms. which is set up on the northern entrance of a ruined Tomb, situated on the bank of the Jamunī in the Madārpurā locality of the town.<sup>1</sup> The lofty dome has developed many ominous cracks and is lying in more or less ruinous state. At present, it is used by a local farmer as a store room, and there is no trace of the grave which must have once occupied the central place.

The record is in Persian and consists of five lines executed, somewhat carelessly, in *Nasta'liq* characters, the calligraphy being on the cruder side and quite inferior to the other inscriptions from Kālpī of the same period. Moreover, the letters of the text are also considerably affected with the result that the task of decipherment has not been easy, and we are not satisfied with the reading of the date. The epigraph states that the magnificent Tomb, called *Hujra* was built in 1604, in the reign of emperor Akbar by Nawwāb Qulī Khān Hindālī at a cost of one thousand two hundred and eighty five *hons*. The work is stated to have been supervised by Bījī (?) Khatri and the chief artisan was Ismā'īl gilkār (mason).<sup>2</sup>

The text has been deciphered as follows —

#### TEXT

#### Plate XXII(c)

- (۱) این حظیره عالی در عهد دوام دولت حلال الدین محمد اکبر
- (۲) نادر شاه عاری رفعت نافه بی نظیر معمره شاهانه المسمور بحجره نواب قلندار
- (۳) هندالی بناساحب و نیک هزار و دویست هشتاد و پنج هون (۹)
- (۴) در باب این حظیره حرج کرده بحریراً فی التاریخ سره رحمت سنه ۱۰۱۳ [۱]
- (۵) کارفرما ناحی کهنتری و اسناد کار اسماعیل گل کار این دوصه در انوار ناد

#### TRANSLATION

(1) This lofty *Hazīra* (mausoleum), in the everlasting reign of Jalālu d Dīn Muhammad Akbar

(2 3) Bādshāh Ghāzī was raised. The matchless magnificent (lit. royal) mausoleum, better known as *Hujra* was built by Nawwāb Qulī Khān Hindālī(?) And (a sum of) one thousand two hundred and eighty five *hons*

<sup>1</sup> *IRIH* 1964 65 No. 11, 364

<sup>2</sup> This word can also be read as *gulkar*, meaning an artist

(4) was spent in respect of this tomb Written on the first Rajab, year [1]013(?) (13th November 1604)

(5) The supervisor (was) Bājī (?) Khatī and the master artisan Imā'il gilkār May this tomb be illuminated

As in the case of quite a few persons mentioned in the epigraphs studied in the preceding lines, Nawwāb Qulī Khān Hindālī who is credited with the construction of the Tomb cannot be identified If his epithet Hindālī has been correctly deciphered, it may be taken to mean that he preferred to be so called on account of his association or that of his father, with Prince Hindāl, uncle of Akbar In any case, he seems to have been a man of position, as is also indicated by the title Nawwāb used for him in the record

From the text, it is not easy to say for whom the Tomb was built It could be that the Nawwāb had caused it to be created for himself during his life time, but in that case, the statement that it came to be known as *Hujra* when the inscription was set up can only be explained by taking for granted that the tablet was set up some time after the completion of the Tomb, that is to say by the time it had acquired fame In the alternative, the Nawwāb had constructed a new tomb in place of one locally known as *Hujra*, which might have belonged to some saintly person

But far more important is the mention in the text, as in the case of the Bulandshahr inscription just studied above, of the cost of the construction of the Tomb Here it is stated to amount to 1285 *hons*, as against 17050 *tankas* in the case of the Bulandshahr Tomb under reference Another interesting point about this record is the mention of *hon* as the currency As is well known, *hon* was a gold coin mostly current in Deccan

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